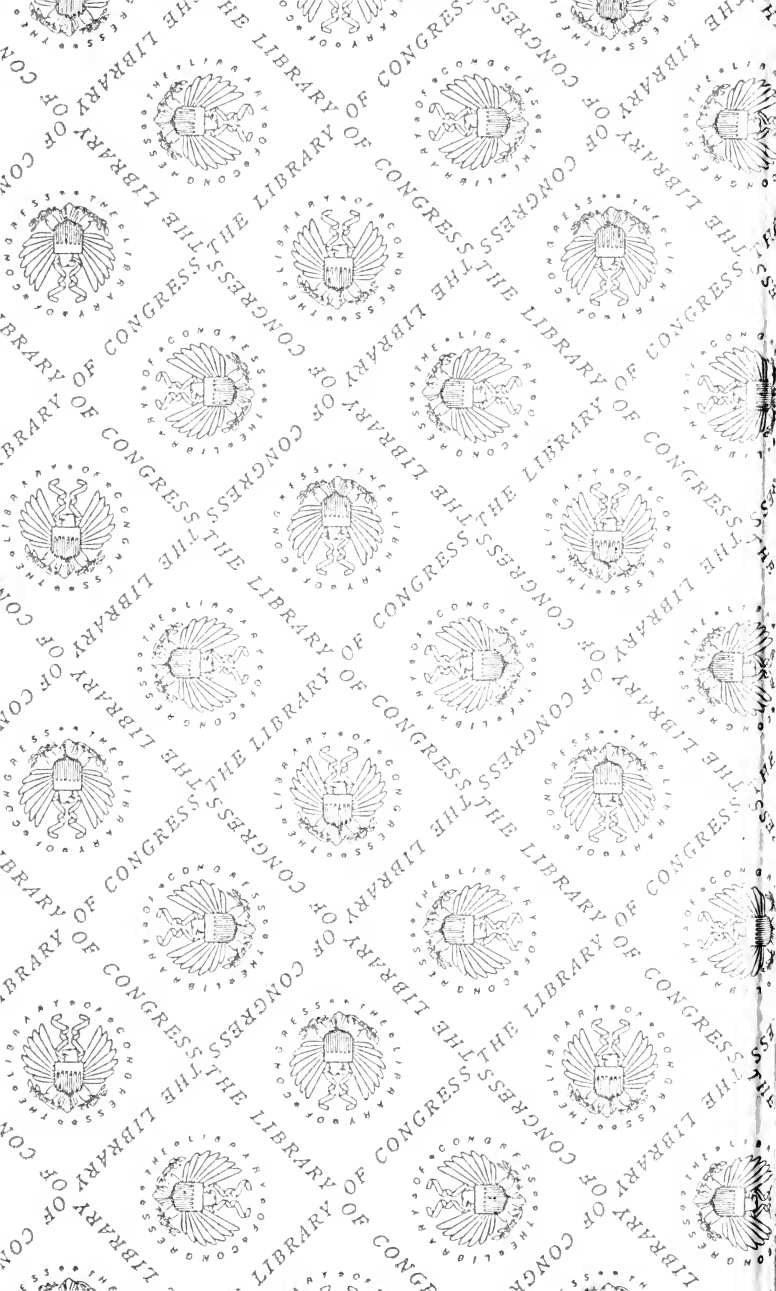
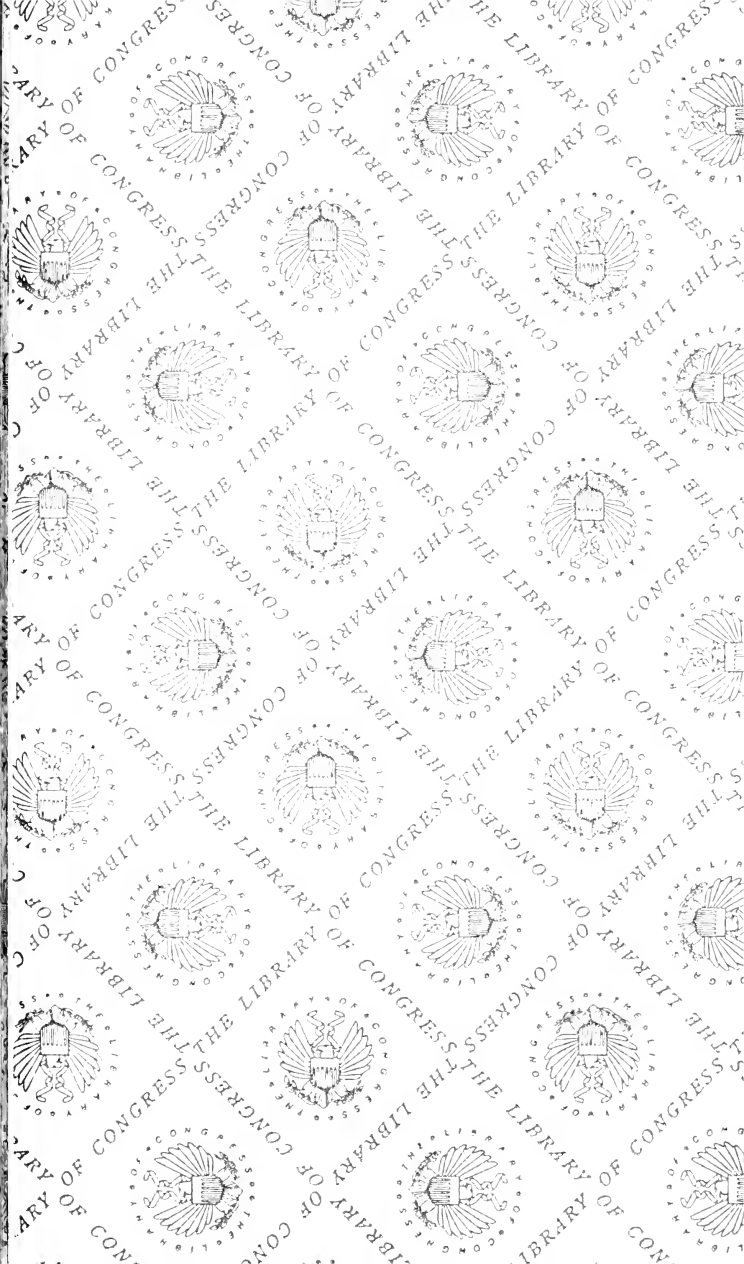


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THE

HISTORY

OF

NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA,

FROM ITS DISCOVERY

TO THE

DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

BY RICHARD SNOWDEN, Esq.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED, AND THE HISTORY OF NORTH
AMERICA BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CESSION OF FLORIDA
IN 1821, AND OF SOUTH AMERICA TO THE BATTLE
OF CAROBOBO IN THE SAME YEAR.

BY CHARLES W. BAZELEY.

History is the depository of the experiments of social science ; and it is important
that all should understand the consequences of human institutions and actions ;
and these consequences are to be found in History.—*Sismondi*.

Philadelphia.

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PREFACE.

To furnish the public with a concise history of America, from its discovery to its present state of civilization and importance, is an undertaking of such general utility, that the attempt, if it even fall short of complete execution, has a claim to a considerable share of indulgence. This is more especially the case, when the writer has to follow a historian of such great and just celebrity as Dr. ROBERTSON, in at least one-half of the work.

To compose such an historical epitome as is desirable, from scattered materials, is a difficulty of such magnitude as wholly to discourage the attempt; and to abridge the pages of so great an original, where there is nothing superfluous, nothing the reader would wish to be omitted, is a design which seems to border on temerity. But this abridgement has been preferred, because it is attended with the least chance of disappointment; and it is not dishonorable to borrow, when the obligation is candidly acknowledged.

Dr. ROBERTSON's history has, therefore, been implicitly followed in what relates to South America. His arrangement of the subject, his chronological order, and his very style have been adopted, as the best that can be chosen. To condense his details, to introduce only the most prominent and characteristic events, has been the principal effort, and invariable purpose of the epitomizer: endeavoring to preserve, unbroken, the connexion and continuity of events; and to present the reader with a brief, but interesting, view of one of the most important eras in the annals of the world.

So far the writer travelled with pleasure:—but, in tracing the subsequent part, the history of North America, he has cause to regret the absence of so pleasing

and faithful a guide—being obliged to collect materials from different sources, of all the British settlements in North America, from their first landing to the final separation from the parent state.

The settlement of these colonies being made at different periods, with charters of incorporation extremely variant, and with governments as distinct as their geographical boundaries, rendered a history of the British empire in America very complex and difficult. From this heterogeneous mass, the writer has endeavored, with considerable labor, to educe a summary of those events that paved the way to the American Revolution; and this Synopsis will constitute an introduction to the future histories of the UNITED STATES.

In that portion of the work which succeeds the confederation of the colonies, and the consequent declaration of Independence, we set our feet on surer ground: we revive events that happened in our own memory; and of which there are faithful records within reach of the generality of our readers. In treating on this part of the subject, it is not a very easy task, wholly to avoid that collision of opinions which is inseparable from free governments. and which constitutes so great a part in the annals of United America: but though difficult, the writer has endeavored to avoid it; confining himself, as much as possible, to a history of facts, and to those only that are of a national concern. His principal object has been to present his readers with a comprehensive view of the whole, without any respect to the politics of a single state or party; and to excite, if possible, a zeal for the general welfare and honor of our common country.—How far he has succeeded in this, as well as other parts of the work, must be left to the candid reader; to whom it is now very respectfully submitted.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.—TALENTS OF COLUMBUS.—HE APPLIES TO SEVERAL POWERS FOR ASSISTANCE.—SAILS FROM PALOS.—DISCOVERS THE BAHAMAS.

1. THE discovery of America has led to events unrivalled in modern history, and we cannot sufficiently admire that steady unconquerable resolution, that amazing force of mind which carried Columbus, the first bold discoverer, through all opposition, and over innumerable obstacles, to the ultimate end of his grand design. The intelligent reader will be agreeably entertained in following this skilful navigator, through unknown seas, in search of a New World: every little incident during the voyage will appear of sufficient magnitude to fix the attention, and excite a strong sympathy with the adventurous chief, in all the various turns of his fortune.

2. According to Dr. Robertson, Christopher Columbus was born in the year 1447 A. D.: the place of his birth is not ascertained, but it appears he was a subject of the Republic of Genoa, and was allured into the service of the Portuguese by the fame of their discoveries: he was descended from an honorable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes.

3. Columbus discovered, in his early youth, a strong propensity and talents for a sea-faring life: this propensity his parents encouraged by the education they gave him: after acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught, at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such unremitting ardor, as they were so intimately connected with his favorite object, navigation, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element, which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen, the Genoese, frequented. This being too narrow a sphere for his active mind, he made

an excursion to the northern seas, and visited the coast of Iceland ; he proceeded beyond that island, the Ultima Thule of the ancients, and advanced several degrees within the polar circle.

4. This voyage enlarged his knowledge in naval affairs more than it improved his fortune ; afterwards he entered into the service of a famous sea captain of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron, fitted out at his own expense, and, by cruising against the Mahometans, and the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. Columbus continued in the service of this captain for several years, distinguished both for his courage and experience as a sailor : at length, in an obstinate engagement off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian caravels, returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board of which he was, took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships, to which it was fast grappled.

5. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him ; for, throwing himself into the sea, and laying hold of a floating oar, by his own dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant. Thus was a life preserved for greater undertakings.

6. When he had recovered sufficient strength, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen resided : they warmly solicited him to stay in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of procuring him that reward, which his merit entitled him to. Columbus listened with a favorable ear to the advice of his friends ; married a Portuguese lady, and fixed his residence at Lisbon. By this alliance, the sphere of his naval knowledge was enlarged. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry, and who, under his protection, had discovered and colonized the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira.

7. From the journals and charts of this experienced navigator, Columbus learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries. The study of these, gratified and inflamed his favorite passion ; and, while he contemplated the maps and read the descriptions of the new countries which Perestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

8. He was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe ; but his ambition aimed at something more. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, and capable of deep reflection, was often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode in which they had carried them on.

9. At that period, the great object in view, was to find out a passage by sea to the East Indies. From the time that the Portuguese had sailed round Cape Verd, this was a point they were anxiously solicitous to attain ; in comparison with it, all discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. But notwithstanding the Portuguese were so intent upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India, by turning to the east, after they had sailed round the utmost extremity of Africa. This course, however, was still unknown : and if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India, must have appeared an undertaking extremely arduous, and of uncertain issue.

10. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the Equator ; a much longer space of time might elapse before the extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, and the danger of the course which the Portuguese were pursuing, led Columbus to consider, whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and attentively, every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory, as well as practice of navigation ; after comparing the observations of modern pilots with the conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the vast continent of India, must be discovered.

11. The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It appeared likewise very probable that the continent on one side the globe was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators.

12. A Portuguese pilot having stretched farther to the west

than usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the sea ; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land, situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law also had found, to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber, fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind ; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy, as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees torn up with their roots, were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, which resembled neither the inhabitants of Europe, nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

13. To a mind capable of forming and executing great designs, as that of Columbus, these observations and authorities operated in full force with his sanguine and enterprising temper ; speculation led immediately to action,—fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out on a voyage of discovery.

14. The first step towards this, was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe, capable of undertaking such an enterprise. His affection for his native country, induced him to wish it should reap the fruit of his labors and invention ; and with this view, he laid his schemes before the senate of Genoa, and offered to sail under the banners of the republic, in quest of the new regions he expected to discover. But, Columbus had resided so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character ; they, therefore, inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost for ever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendor.

15. Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that instead of relinquishing his object, he pursued it with fresh ardor. He next made an overture to John II. king of Portugal, whom he considered as having the second claim to his services. Here every thing seemed to promise him a more favorable reception. He applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patronizing every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe,

and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty or boldness of any maritime expedition.

16. In Portugal, the skill of Columbus in his profession, as well as his personal good qualities, were well known : accordingly the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. In Genoa he had to combat with ignorance, in Lisbon an enemy no less formidable opposed him, prejudice ; the persons to whose decision his project was referred, were the chief directors of the Portuguese navigation, and had advised to search for a passage to India by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended, as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification, of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity.

17. After a fruitless and mortifying attendance, being teased with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into a particular explanation of his system, they deferred passing a final judgment, with respect to it ; but secretly conspired to rob him of the honor and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to dispatch a vessel secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. The king, forgetting, on this occasion, the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius, nor the fortitude, of its author ; he returned, as might have been expected, without accomplishing any thing ; execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

18. Upon discovering this dishonorable action, he instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain, towards the close of the year 1484, when he determined to propose it, in person, to Ferdinand and Isabella, who, at that time, governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas ; in order that he might, at the same time, negotiate with Henry VII. who was reputed one of the most sagacious, as well as opulent, princes in Europe.

19. Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to

the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court, because Spain was engaged, at that juncture, in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms. The cautious and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not congenial with bold and uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions.

20. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and beheld the amazing progress of discovery among their neighbors, the Portuguese, without making one attempt to imitate or rival them. Under circumstances so unfavorable, it was not likely that Columbus could make a rapid progress with a nation naturally slow and dilatory in performing all its resolutions.

21. His character, however, was well adapted to that of the people, whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courtly in his deportment; circumspect in his words and actions; irreproachable in his morals; and exemplary in his attention to all the duties of religion. By these qualities he gained many private friends, and acquired such general esteem, that he was considered as a person to whose propositions some attention was due.

22. Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus as to refer the consideration of his plan to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen as were supposed best qualified to decide upon a subject of this nature: those pretended philosophers who were selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them, from mistaken notions, concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the earth, which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years; others concluded he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or if he should persist in steering towards the west, beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres, which nature had for ever disjoined. Some contended that it was presumptuous in any person to suppose that he alone possessed knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united; that if there were really any such countries as Colum-

bus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the sagacity and wisdom of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

23. The patience of Columbus was put to the severest trial in listening to these ignorant and malicious insinuations : after innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavors to inform and satisfy them, Talavera at last made such an unfavorable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a final period, it was impossible for them to engage in any new and expensive enterprise.

24. This declaration Columbus considered as a total rejection of his proposals. But, happily for mankind, superiority of genius is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays, nor damped by disappointments. The insolence of office may depress, but cannot extinguish it, as it soars above the littleness of human pride.

25. Columbus was of a sanguine temper, though he deeply felt the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court where he had been long amused with vain expectations. His confidence in the justness of his own system did not forsake him ; and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it became greater than ever.

26. Having thus failed of success with sovereign states, he next applied to persons of inferior rank, and addressed the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi ; who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence sufficient for the enterprise which he projected. His proposals to them were, however, fruitless ; they did not choose to countenance a scheme which Ferdinand had rejected, even if they had approved of the enterprise. They were afraid of alarming the jealousy and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by acting counter to his judgment. Such a succession of disappointments excited the most painful sensations ; and his distress was augmented by his not having received any accounts from his brother, whom he had sent to the court of England.

27. Bartholomew, in his voyage to that country, fell into the hands of pirates who stripped him of every thing, and detained him a prisoner several years. At length he made his escape, and arrived in such extreme indigence, that he was compelled to employ a considerable space of time in drawing and selling maps, in order to obtain as much money as would enable him to purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals with

which he had been intrusted by his brother ; and, notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new and expensive undertakings, he received the overtures of Columbus with more approbation, than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

28. Columbus, in the meanwhile, unacquainted with his brother's fate, and hopes of succeeding in Spain having vanished, he resolved to visit the court of England in person. He had already made preparations for this purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the Prior of the monastery of Rabida near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with queen Isabella, to whom he was personally known. Warmly attached to Columbus, and prompted by curiosity or friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician, who was a good mathematician.

29. This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly with respect to the principles upon which Columbus founded his opinion, that Perez, fearing his country would lose the glory and benefit of so grand an enterprise, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter again, and with the attention it merited.

30. Isabella was so far moved by this representation, that she desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fé, in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him upon this important and interesting subject.

31. The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip himself for the journey. As there was a prospect that the war with the Moors would be speedily brought to a happy issue, by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings ; this, as well as the mark of royal favor with which Columbus had lately been honored, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence, than formerly, in support of his scheme.

32. Of these, Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon, deserve an honorable place in history, on account of their zeal in promoting this great design ; these gentlemen introduced Columbus to many persons

of high rank, and interested them warmly in his cause. Ferdinand's distrustful prudence could not easily be overcome: he considered the project as extravagant and chimerical; and in order at once to destroy the efforts of his partisans, and render them ineffectual, he employed, in the new negotiation, persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme impracticable.

33. To their astonishment, Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success, as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompense. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt a discovery, and demanded to be appointed perpetual and hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands he should discover, and to have the tenth of the profits arising from them, settled irrevocably upon him and his descendants. At the same time he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary, for accomplishing the design, on condition of his enjoying a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprise should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever.

34. Instead of viewing this last proposition as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion, with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with admiration of that magnanimity, which after so many delays and repulses would stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons with whom Columbus treated, meanly objected to the expense of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded.

35. The expense they affirmed would be too great for Spain, in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended the honors and emoluments claimed by Columbus, were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had proposed; and that if the expedition should prove abortive, such vast concessions to an adventurer would be deemed inconsiderate and ridiculous.

36. These cautious objections were so consonant with the natural disposition of Ferdinand, that he cordially approved of them; and Isabella, discouraged, declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the conference. The mind of Columbus, firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England, as his last resource.

37. About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took possession of a city, the reduction of which rendered them masters of all the provinces

extending from the foot of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. Quintanilla and Santangel taking advantage of this favorable event, made another effort in behalf of their friend.

38. They addressed themselves to Isabella, and after expressing their surprise that she, who had always been the liberal patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of sound understanding, and virtuous character, well qualified by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe, and the situation of its various regions; and that by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, they gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament was inconsiderable, and the advantages that might accrue from his undertaking, were immense; that he demanded no recompense for his invention and labor, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover; that it was worthy of her magnanimity, to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince would close with his proposals, and Spain would for ever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

39. These powerful arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, had the desired effect. Isabella's doubts and fears were all dispelled; she ordered Columbus instantly to be recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low state of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels in order to raise as much money as would be wanted for making the necessary preparations for the voyage. Santangel, transported with gratitude, kissed the queen's hand, and rather than she should have recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

40. Columbus, ignorant of this change in his favor, had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger overtook him. Upon receiving the account so flattering to his hopes, he returned directly to Santa Fé, not without some diffidence mingled with his joy. But the cordial reception which

he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long engrossed his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of past sufferings, during eight years of tedious solicitation and anxious suspense.

41. The negotiation now went on with facility and dispatch; and a treaty with Columbus was signed on the seventeenth of April, 1492. The chief articles of it were:

ART. 1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high-admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he, and his heirs for ever, should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives, which belonged to the high-admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction.

ART. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorized Columbus to name three persons of whom they would choose one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus.

ART. 3. They granted to Columbus, and his heirs for ever, the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover.

ART. 4. They declared, that if any controversy or law-suit should arise with respect to any mercantile transaction, in the countries which might be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him.

ART. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover; and entitled him in return to an eighth part of the profit.

42. Notwithstanding the name of Ferdinand appears joined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was so violent, that he refused to take any part in the enterprise, as king of Arragon. As the whole expense of the expedition, excepting the part Columbus was to furnish, was defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom, an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

43. When the treaty was signed, Isabella endeavored to make some reparation to Columbus for the time he had lost in fruitless solicitation, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations.

44. By the twelfth of May, all that depended on her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen, in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination and conduct of the voyage was committed entirely to his wisdom and prudence. But that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea; nor to any of the other countries, to which they claimed right as discoverers.

45. The ships, of which Columbus was to take the command, were ordered by Isabella to be fitted out in the port of Palos, a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. The prior, Juan Perez, to whom Columbus had been so greatly indebted, resided in the neighborhood of this place; he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connexion with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the enterprise.

46. But, notwithstanding all the endeavors and efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels only; the largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of Santa Maria, out of respect to the Blessed Virgin, whom he honored with singular respect. Of the second, called the Pinta, Martin Alonzo Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis, pilot. The third, named the Nigna, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon: those two were hardly superior in burden and force to large boats.

47. This squadron, if it merits the name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, chiefly sailors, together with a few adventurers, who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expense of the undertaking was one of the circumstances that chiefly alarmed

the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negotiations with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed seventeen thousand five hundred dollars.

48. The art of ship-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk and construction of vessels were accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast, which they were accustomed to perform. It is a proof of the genius and courage of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which, in all probability, he would be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish his great design made him overlook every danger and difficulty. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardor, and was so well seconded by Isabella, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage.

49. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with a sense of the superintendence of Divine Providence, over the affairs of this life, he would not set out upon the expedition without publicly imploring the protection of heaven. With this view, he marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida, accompanied by all the persons under his command. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the sacrament from the hands of the Prior, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

50. Next morning, being Friday, the third day of August, in the year 1492, the fleet sailed, a little before sunrise. A vast crowd of spectators assembled on the shore, and sent up their supplications to heaven for the prosperous issue of their voyage, which they rather wished than expected.

51. Columbus steered for the Canary Islands, and arrived there without any occurrence worth remarking, or that would have been taken notice of on any other occasion. But in this expedition every thing claimed attention. The rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose the day after they left the harbor; the crew, superstitious and unskilful, considered this as a bad omen. In this short run, the ships were found so crazy, as to be very unfit for a navigation which was expected to be long and dangerous.

52. Columbus repaired them to the best of his power; and, after taking in a supply of fresh provisions, at Gomera, he took his departure on the sixth day of September. He immediately left the usual track of navigation, holding his course

due west, and stretched into unfrequented seas. The calmness of the weather prevented them from making much progress the first day; but on the second he lost sight of land. The sailors, dejected and dismayed at the boldness of the undertaking, beat their breasts, and shed tears, as if they were never again to see the land. Columbus, confident of success, comforted them with assurances of a happy issue of the voyage, and the prospect of vast wealth.

53. This pusillanimous spirit of the crew, taught Columbus that he should have to struggle with other difficulties besides what was natural for him to expect from the nature of the undertaking. Fortunately for himself, and for the country which employed him, to an ardent inventive genius, he joined other virtues that are rarely united with them: he possessed a perfect knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his own passions, and the art of acquiring the direction of other men's.

54. These qualities, which eminently formed him for command, were accompanied with that experience and knowledge in his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To Spanish sailors accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the knowledge of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years' experience, improved by the inventive skill of the Portuguese, appeared immense.

55. When they were at sea, he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for rest, he was almost constantly on deck. His course lying through seas not formerly visited, the sounding-line and quadrant were seldom out of his hands. He attended to the motions of the tides and currents, watched the flights of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea-weeds, and of every thing that floated upon the water, entering every occurrence in his journal.

56. Expecting the length of the voyage would alarm the sailors, Columbus concealed from them the real progress which they made. He employed the artifice of reckoning short, during the whole voyage. By the 14th of September, the fleet was above six hundred miles to the west of the Canaries; the greatest distance from land that any Spaniard had been before that time.

57. But now they were struck with an appearance that was astonishing, because it was new. The magnetic needle did not point exactly to the Polar Star, but varied a degree towards the

west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. Though this is now familiar, it still remains one of the mysteries of nature; the sagacity of man has not been able to penetrate the cause; and it filled the companions of Columbus with terror.

58. They were now far from the usual course of navigation, nature itself seemed altered, and the only guide they had left appeared to fail them. Columbus, with admirable presence of mind, invented a plausible reason for this appearance, which had an effect to dispel their fears, or silence their murmurs. He still steered due west, nearly in the latitude of the Canaries. In this direction he came within the course of the trade winds, which blow from east to west, between the tropics.

59. He advanced before this steady gale with such rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues west of the Canaries, the sea was so covered with weeds that it resembled a meadow of vast extent, and was in some places so thick as to impede the progress of the vessels. This was cause of fresh alarm: the seamen imagined this was the utmost boundary of the ocean; and that these floating weeds concealed dangerous rocks, or a large tract of land, which had sunk in that place. Columbus persuaded them that, instead of alarming, it ought rather to encourage them to consider it as a sign of approaching land: at the same time a brisk gale sprung up, and carried them forwards. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship, and directing their flight towards the west. The despairing crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain new hopes.

60. Upon the first day of October they were advanced two thousand two hundred and ten miles west of the Canaries; but he persuaded his men that he had only proceeded seventeen hundred and fifty-two miles; and fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, could discover the deceit.

61. Three weeks had now elapsed, and no land appeared: all their prognostics had proved fallacious, and their prospects of success were now as distant as ever. These reflections made strong impressions, at first, on the timid and ignorant, and extended, by degrees, to those who were better informed, or more resolute. The contagion spread, at length, from ship to ship. From secret whispers and murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and loud complaints.

62. They charged their sovereign with foolish credulity, in relying on the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner. They affirmed that they had fully performed

their duty, by venturing in a hopeless cause, and that they would be justifiable in refusing any longer to follow such a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended that it was high time to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but they feared their attempt would be impracticable, as the wind, which had hitherto been favorable to their course, would render it impossible to sail in an opposite direction.

63. They all agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure, on which their safety depended. Some were for throwing him overboard, and getting rid of his remonstrances, being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, his death would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity. Columbus was not ignorant of his perilous situation; he saw that the disaffection of his crew was ready to burst forth into open mutiny. He affected to seem ignorant of all their designs, and appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man fully satisfied with the progress he had made, and confident of success.

64. Sometimes he endeavored to work upon their ambition and avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they would in all probability acquire. On other occasions he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their cowardly behavior, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation.

65. The words of a man they were accustomed to obey and reverence, were weighty and persuasive; and not only restrained them from violent excesses, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral some time longer. As they advanced in their course, signs of approaching land were frequent. Birds appeared in flocks, and directed their flight towards the south-west.

66. In imitation of the Portuguese, who in their several discoveries were guided by the motion of birds, Columbus altered his course from due west, to that quarter whither they pursued their flight. Holding on in this direction for several days, but with no better success than formerly, and having seen no land for thirty days, their hopes subsided quicker than they had arisen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, were visible in every countenance. All subordination was lost; the officers had hitherto concurred in opinion with Columbus, but now took part with the men; they

assembled and mixed threats with expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about, and return to Spain.

67. Columbus perceived it would be in vain to practise his former arts, or endeavor to rekindle any zeal for the enterprise in men, in whose breasts fear had extinguished every noble sentiment. It was therefore necessary, to soothe passions, which it was impossible to command, and give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. Therefore he solemnly promised them, that if they would continue to obey his commands, and accompany him three days longer, and during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise, and direct his course towards Spain.

68. This proposition did not appear to them unreasonable: enraged as they were, they yielded to the proposition. Columbus saw the presages of approaching land so numerous and certain, that he did not hazard much in confining himself to so short a term. For some days the sounding-line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up was a strong indication that the land was at no great distance. The land-birds which made their appearance, confirmed their hopes.

69. The crew of the *Pinta* observed a cane floating, which seemed to be newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors on board the *Nigna*, took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The air was more mild and warm, and the clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance.

70. Columbus was now so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the ships to lie to, and a strict watch kept, lest they should be driven on shore in the night. During this interval of suspense, and anxious expectation, no man closed his eyes; but all kept on deck looking intently towards that part from whence they supposed land would appear, which had been so long the object of their most anxious wishes.

71. About two hours before midnight, Columbus, standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and called to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet: all three saw it move, as from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *Land! Land!* was heard from the *Pinta*, which always kept ahead of the other ships. Deceived so often, by fallacious appearances, they were slow of belief, and waited in anxious suspense for the return of day.

72. When the morning dawned, all their doubts and fears were dispelled; they discovered an island about two leagues to the north, whose verdant fields and woods, watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country.

73. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God; and were joined by the crews of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This act of devotion, was followed by an act of justice to their commander: they fell at his feet with feelings of self-condemnation, inspired with reverence. They implored his pardon for their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and passing from one extreme to another, in the warmth of their imagination they now pronounced him, whom they had lately reviled and threatened, to be a person divinely inspired with sagacity and fortitude more than human, that could accomplish a design beyond the ideas and conceptions of all former ages.

74. When the sun arose, the boats were all manned and armed, with colors displayed, warlike music, and other martial pomp; they rowed towards the shore: as they approached, they saw a multitude of people, whose gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the novel and strange objects which presented themselves to their view.

75. Columbus was the first European that set his foot on the new world. He landed in a rich dress, and with a drawn sword in his hand. His men followed, with the royal standard displayed, and kneeling down, kissed the ground they had so long desired to see. They then erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God, for thus conducting their voyage to so happy an issue.

76. They then, in a solemn manner, took possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe, in all their discoveries. While the Spaniards were thus employed, they were surrounded by the natives, who, in silent admiration, gazed upon actions, the meaning of which they could not comprehend, or foresee the consequences.

77. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skin, their beards, arms, and accoutrements, appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines, in which they traversed the ocean, appeared to move upon the waters with wings, uttering a dreadful sound like thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke: this filled the natives with terror, and inspired them with a belief that their new guests were a superior order of

beings, concluding they were children of the Sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

78. The Spaniards were as much amazed at the scene before them. The trees, the shrubs, the herbage, were all different from those which were of European growth. The climate was warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses round their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth; of a copper color; their features not disagreeable; of a gentle and timid aspect. They were well shaped and active. Their faces and bodies were painted in a fantastical manner, with glaring colors. They appeared shy at first, but soon became familiar, and, with transports of joy, they received glass beads and other baubles; in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they had to trade with.

79. In the evening, Columbus returned to his ships in company with many of the islanders in their canoes, which they managed with surprising dexterity. Every circumstance relating to this first interview, between the inhabitants of the Old and New World was conducted with harmony and satisfaction. The former, enlightened and influenced by ambition, formed vast ideas respecting the future advantages that would be likely to accrue from the discovery. The latter, simple and unsuspecting, had no forethought of the calamities and desolation which were soon to overwhelm their country.

80. Columbus, as admiral and viceroy, called the island San Salvador. It is, nevertheless, better known by the name of Guanahani, which the natives gave to it, and is one of the Bahama isles. It is situated above three thousand miles to the west of Gomera, from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees south of it. Columbus employed the next day in visiting the coasts of the island, and from the general poverty of the inhabitants, he was assured that this was not the rich country which he sought.

81. Having observed small plates of gold, which most of the people wore by way of ornament, pendent in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they found that precious metal. They pointed towards the south and south-west, and made him comprehend by signs, that there was abundance of gold in countries situated in that quarter.

82. Animated with hope, he determined to direct his course

thither, in full expectation of finding those wealthy regions which had been the main object of his voyage. With this view he again set sail, taking with him seven of the innocent natives, to serve as interpreters, who esteemed it a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

83. In his course he passed several islands, and touched at three of them, which he called Mary, Fernandina, and Isabella. But as the soil and inhabitants resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay there. He inquired everywhere for gold, and was answered as before, that it was brought from the south. Following that course, he soon discovered a country of vast extent, diversified with rising grounds—hills, rivers, woods, and plains. He was uncertain whether it would prove an island or part of the continent. The natives he had on board called it Cuba; Columbus gave it the name of Juanna. He entered the mouth of a large river with his squadron, and the natives all fled to the mountains as he approached the shore.

84. Intending to careen his ships in that place, Columbus sent some Spaniards, together with one of the San Salvador Indians, to view the interior parts of the country. Having advanced above sixty miles from the shore, they reported, upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated, than what they had already discovered; that besides scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing a thousand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, were more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honoring them as sacred beings, allied to Heaven; that they gave them a certain root, which in taste resembled roasted chestnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn, called maize, that was very palatable; and that there seemed to be no four-footed animals, except a species of dogs that could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but smaller; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

85. Some of the natives accompanied these messengers; they informed Columbus, as the others had done, that the gold he was so anxious about, was to be found to the southward; often mentioning the word Cubanacan, by which they meant the inland part of Cuba: Columbus, ignorant of their pronunciation, believed the country he had discovered was a part of the East Indies; and under the influence of this idea, he thought they spoke of the Great Khan, and imagined the opulent kingdom of Cathay, described by M. Polo, was not remote.

86. The natives, as much astonished at the eagerness of the Spaniards for gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where was an island called Hayti, in which that metal was more abundant. Columbus ordered his squadron to steer its course thither ; but Martin Alonzo Pinzon, eager to be the first in taking possession of the rich treasure, which the island was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, and paid no regard to the admiral's signals to slacken sail, until they should come up with him. Retarded by contrary winds, Columbus did not reach Hayti, until the sixth of December. He called the port where he first landed St. Nicholas, and the island itself Espagnola, in honor of the kingdom by which he was employed ; and it is the only country that he discovered, that still bears the name which he gave it.

87. As he could not have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation, he soon left St. Nicholas, and sailed along the northern coast of the island : he entered another harbor, which he called Conception. Here he was more fortunate ; a woman who was flying from them was overtaken ; and after treating her kindly, she was dismissed with presents of such toys as, to an Indian, were considered most valuable. When she returned to her countrymen, with her imagination heated with what she had seen, she gave such a flattering description of the new-comers, at the same time producing the trinkets she had received, that they were eager to partake of the same favors.

88. Their fears being removed, many of them repaired to the harbor. Here their curiosity and wishes were amply gratified. They nearly resembled the other natives they had already seen, naked, ignorant, and simple, credulous and timid to a degree, which made it easy to acquire an ascendant over them : they were led into the same error as the other inhabitants, who believed them to be more than mortals, descended immediately from heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbors, which they cheerfully parted with for bells, beads, or pins ; and in this unequal traffic, both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction.

89. A prince or cazique of the country made Columbus a visit at this place. He appeared in all the pomp of Indian magnificence : he was carried in a sort of palanquin by four men, and a numerous train of attendants, who approached him with respectful attention. His deportment was grave, and stately ;

to his own people very reserved, but to the Spaniards open and extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle curiously wrought after the Indian fashion. Columbus, in return, made him presents of small value to a European, but highly prized by the savage chief.

90. The mind of Columbus being incessantly occupied with the prospect of discovering gold mines, he interrogated all the natives he met, concerning their situation. All his questions were answered by their pointing to a mountainous country, which, in their language, was called Cibao, at some distance from the sea, towards the east. Struck with the name, he no longer doubted but that it was Cipango, a name by which Marco Polo distinguished the islands of Japan: this strengthened him in the erroneous opinion he had embraced, that the country he had discovered was a remote part of Asia.

91. In full confidence of the rectitude of his opinion, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbor which he named St. Thomas: this part of the country was governed by a powerful cazique named Guacanahari, who was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus with a present of a mask of beaten gold, curiously fashioned, and invited him to his town near the harbor, now called Cape Français. Columbus returned the cazique's civilities by a deputation of some of his own people; who returned with such favorable accounts of the country and people as made Columbus impatient for that interview which Guacanahari had desired.

92. For this purpose he sailed from St. Thomas on the twenty-fourth of December, with a fair wind and smooth sea; and as he had not slept for two days, at midnight he retired to take some repose, committing the helm to the pilot, strictly enjoining him not to quit it for a moment. But he, dreading no danger, incautiously gave the helm in charge to the cabin-boy, and the ship was carried away by the current, and dashed against a rock. The violence of the concussion awakened Columbus. He immediately went upon deck, and there he found all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He immediately ordered some sailors to take a boat and carry out an anchor astern; but they, instead of complying with the orders of their admiral, made off to the Nigna, about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut, but all his endeavors were too late; the vessel filled so fast with water, that it was impossible to save her.

93. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance from the Nigna, enabled the crew to save their lives. The natives, as soon as they heard of this disaster, crowded to the shore, with Guacanahari at their head, and lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. But they did not rest satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sorrow; they launched a vast number of canoes, and, under the direction of Spaniards, rendered important services in saving the property of the wreck; Guacanahari, in person, took charge of the goods as they were landed; by his orders they were all deposited in one place, and sentinels were posted to keep the multitude at a distance.

94. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was on board of the Nigna, and, in the warmth of affection, offered all he had to repair his loss. Such tender assiduity and sincere condolence in a savage, afforded Columbus that relief his agitated spirits stood in need of. Hitherto Columbus had heard no account of the Pinta, and suspected that his treacherous associate had set sail for Europe, that he might claim the merit of carrying the first tidings of the discoveries to Spain, and so far gain the attention of his sovereign as to rob Columbus of the glory and reward to which he was justly entitled. But one vessel now remained, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron: in which they were compelled to traverse such a vast ocean, and carry so many men back to Europe.

95. To remedy this last inconvenience, he proposed to his men the great advantages that would accrue by leaving some of them on the island, to learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the country, search for mines, and prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony; for which he proposed to return, and secure those advantages which it was reasonable to expect from his discoveries. To this proposal all his men assented, and many voluntarily offered to remain behind. Guacanahari was pleased with the proposition, as he conceived that with such powerful allies, he should be able to repel the attacks of a warlike and fierce people he called Caribbeans, who sometimes invaded his dominions, delighting in blood, and devoured the flesh of those prisoners who unhappily fell into their hands.

96. Guacanahari, as he was speaking of these dreadful invaders, discovered such symptoms of terror, as well as consciousness of the inability of his own people to resist them, that led Columbus to believe such a proposal would be very agreeable. Guacanahari closed instantly with the proposal, and

thought himself safe under the protection of beings sprung from heaven, and superior in power to mortal men.

97. The ground was marked out for a small fort, which was called, by Columbus, Navidad, because it was Christmas-day when he landed there. A deep ditch was drawn around it: the ramparts were fortified, and the great guns saved out of the admiral's ship were planted upon them. In ten days the work was completed; the simple unsuspecting Indians labored with inconsiderate assiduity, in erecting this first monument of their own servitude. The high opinion the natives had of the Spaniards, was increased by the caresses and liberality of Columbus; but while he wished to inspire them with confidence in their disposition to do good, he also wished to give them some striking idea of their power to punish and destroy such as provoked their just indignation. With this view, he drew up his men in order of battle, in view of a vast concourse of people, and made an ostentatious display of the force of the Spanish arms.

98. These rude people, unacquainted with any hostile weapons but wooden swords, javelins hardened in the fire, and reeds pointed with the bones of fishes, admired and trembled; the sudden explosion of the great guns, struck them with such terror and astonishment, that they fell flat to the ground, and covered their faces with their hands; and when they beheld the effects of the balls, they were persuaded that it was impossible to resist men who came armed with thunder and lightning against their enemies. After giving such powerful impressions of the power and beneficence of the Spaniards, Columbus selected thirty-eight of his people to remain on the island; and the command of these was given to Diego Arada, a gentleman of Cordova; Columbus investing him with the same powers which he had himself received from his royal patrons, after furnishing him with every thing requisite for this infant colony. He strongly insisted on their preserving concord amongst themselves, a prompt and ready obedience to their commander, and the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with the natives, as the surest means of their preservation. That they should cultivate the friendship of Guacanahari, but not put themselves in his power by straggling in small parties from the fort. He then took his leave, after promising to revisit them soon with a reinforcement sufficient to take full possession of the country. He further promised to place their merit in a conspicuous light to the king and queen.

99. Having thus taken every precaution to secure the colony,

he left Navidad on the fourth day of January, 1493, and steering towards the east, on the sixth he discovered the Pinta, after a separation of more than six weeks. Pinzon endeavored to justify his conduct, pretending that he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. Columbus, though no stranger to his perfidious intentions, as well as the falsehood he urged in his defence, was sensible that it was not a proper time for exerting his authority, and was pleased with joining his consort, as it delivered him from some uneasy apprehensions: he therefore admitted the apology without difficulty, and restored him to favor. Columbus now found it necessary, from the eagerness which his men showed to visit their native country, and the crazy condition of his ships, to hasten his return to Europe.

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS RETURNS TO SPAIN.—HE MAKES A SECOND VOYAGE.
—DISCOVERS DESEADA.

100. On the sixteenth of January, 1493, Columbus directed his course to the north-east, and was soon out of sight of his newly-discovered country. He had some of the natives, whom he had taken from different islands, on board; and besides the gold, which was the principal object of research, he had specimens of all the productions which were likely to become subjects of commerce, as well as many strange birds and other natural curiosities, which might attract the attention, and excite the wonder of the people.

101. The voyage was prosperous to the 14th of February, at which time they had advanced fifteen hundred miles, when the wind began to rise, and blow with increasing rage, till it terminated in a violent hurricane. Columbus's naval skill and experience were severely put to the proof; destruction seemed inevitable; the sailors had recourse to prayers and to the invocation of saints, to vows and ~~charms~~, to every thing that religion ~~or superstition~~ suggests to the affrighted mind. No prospect of deliverance appearing, despair was visible in all countenances, and they expected every moment to be swallowed up by the waves. Columbus had to endure feelings peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all the knowledge of his discoveries would be lost to the world, and that his name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honor due to the author and conductor of the noblest enterprise that had ever been under-

taken. Reflections like these extinguished all sense of his own personal danger. More solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had achieved, than the preservation of his own life, he retired to his cabin, and wrote upon parchment a short account of the voyage he had made, the course he had taken, and of the riches and situation of the country he had discovered, and of the small colony he had left there.

102. Having wrapped this up in an oiled cloth, which he inclosed in a cake of wax, he then carefully put it into a cask, effectually stopping it to keep out the water, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world. Providence at length interposed to save so valuable a life: the wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth they discovered land, which they soon knew to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, or Western Islands, subject to the crown of Portugal. There he obtained a supply of provisions, and such other things as he had need of. There was one circumstance that greatly disquieted him: the *Pinta* had separated from him during the hurricane; he was apprehensive that she had foundered, and that all her crew had perished: afterwards, his former suspicions revived, that Pinzon had borne away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and give the first account of his discoveries. In order to prevent this, he proceeded on his voyage as soon as the weather would permit.

103. At no great distance from the coast of Spain, another storm arose, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it, during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus. Upon application to the king of Portugal, he was allowed to come up to Lisbon; Columbus was received with all the marks of distinction due to a man who had performed things so extraordinary and unexpected. The king admitted him into his presence, treated him with great respect, and listened to the account he gave of his voyage, with admiration mingled with regret.

104. Columbus was now able to prove the solidity of his schemes to those very persons who, with an ignorance disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary adventurer. Columbus was so impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days at Lisbon, and on the fifteenth of March he arrived at the port of Palos, just seven months and eleven days from the time he set out from thence upon his voyage. The

inhabitants ran eagerly to the shore to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage.

105. When the successful issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange appearance of the Indians, the unknown animals, and singular productions, of the newly-discovered countries, the effusion of joy was unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannons fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honors, and all the people accompanied him and his crew, in solemn procession, to church, where they returned thanks to heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted, and crowned with success, a voyage of greater length, and of more importance, than had been attempted in any former age. To add to the general joy, the *Pinta*, on the evening of the day, entered the harbor. Ferdinand and Isabella being at Barcelona, they were no less astonished than delighted, with the unexpected event: they sent a messenger requesting him, in terms the most respectful, to repair immediately to court, that from himself they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services, and discoveries.

106. During his journey to Barcelona, the people flocked from the adjacent country, following him with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, with extreme pomp, suitable to the great event which added such distinguishing lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him, the natives of the countries he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarities of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, grains of gold found in the mountains and rivers; after these appeared the various commodities of the New World and its curious productions: Columbus closed the procession and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who could not sufficiently admire the man whose superior sagacity and fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route unknown to past ages, to the knowledge of a new country, abounding with riches, and as fertile as the best cultivated lands in Spain.

107. Ferdinand and Isabella received him in their royal robes, seated upon a throne under a magnificent canopy. They stood up as he approached, and raised him as he kneeled to kiss their hands. He then took his seat on a chair prepared for him, and, by their majesties' orders, gave a circumstantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with that composure

and dignity, so suitable to the Spanish nation, and with that modest simplicity so characteristic of great minds, that satisfied with having performed great actions, seeks not an ostentatious display of words to set them forth. When his narration was finished, the king and queen kneeled down and offered up thanks to Almighty God, for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow into the kingdom, subject to their government.

108. Columbus was invested with every mark of honor, that gratitude or admiration could suggest, confirming to him and his heirs the agreement made at Santa Fé. His family was ennobled, the king, the queen, and the whole court treated him, on every occasion, with all the ceremonious respect usually paid to persons of the highest rank. An order was immediately made to equip, without delay, an armament of such force, as might enable him to take possession of those countries which he had already discovered, as well as to search for those more opulent regions, which he still confidently expected to find.

109. Columbus's fame now quickly spread over Europe, and his successful voyage had excited general attention. Men of science spoke of it with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity, in having lived at a period when the boundaries of human knowledge were so much extended.

110. Various opinions were formed, concerning the new found countries, and to what division of the earth they belonged. Columbus erroneously and tenaciously adhered to his original idea, that they were part of those vast regions of Asia, comprehended under the general name of India: this sentiment gained strength from the productions of the countries he had discovered. Gold was known to abound in India, of which precious metal he had brought some samples from the islands he had visited.

111. Cotton, another production of the east, was common there. The pimento of the islands, he imagined to be a species of the East India pepper. He mistook a root, somewhat resembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be a plant peculiar to the East Indies: the birds were adorned with the same rich plumage, that distinguishes those of India. The alligator of the one country, was considered as the crocodile of the other. After weighing all these circumstances, the different nations of Europe adopted the opinion of Columbus; they considered the countries he had discovered, as a part of India.

112. The name of West Indies, was therefore given to them,

by Ferdinand and Isabella, even after the error was detected, and the true position of the New World known : the name still remains, and the appellation of West Indies is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of Indians to its inhabitants.

113. The specimens of riches and the productions of the new country which Columbus exhibited were very alluring ; and the exaggerated accounts of his companions, excited a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. Though unaccustomed to naval expeditions, they were eager to set out upon another voyage. Volunteers of all ranks were anxiously solicitous to be employed. The vast prospect which opened to their imagination, flattered their ambition and their avarice ; neither the danger, nor length of the navigation intimidated them. Ferdinand's natural caution gave way to the torrent of public opinion ; and he seemed to have caught the same spirit with his subjects.

114. Another expedition was carried on with a rapidity unusual to the Spaniards. A fleet consisting of seventeen ships was equipped ; some of which were of good burden : they had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honorable stations. Most of these intending to remain in the country, were furnished with every thing necessary for conquest or settlement, with all kinds of domestic animals, and also seeds and plants, that were likely to thrive in the climate of the West Indies, together with such utensils as might be useful in an infant colony : and artificers were engaged to attend the expedition.

115. But formidable and well provided as the fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella, slaves to the prevailing opinions of the 14th century, were not willing to rest their title to the possession of the newly-discovered countries until they applied to the Roman pontiff who, in that age, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth.

116. Alexander VI. filled the papal throne at the time : as he was born Ferdinand's subject, and solicitous to procure that monarch's protection, in prosecuting his ambitious schemes, in favor of his own family, he instantly complied with his request. By an act of liberality which cost him nothing, he bestowed upon Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover : and by virtue of that power which ~~he possessed~~ he derived from Jesus Christ, he vested in the crown of Castile a right to vast

regions, to the possession of which he was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and even with their existence ; but that this grant should not seem to interfere with one he had made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line supposed to be drawn from the north to the south pole, one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as a limit between them : and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all on the east of this imaginary line on the Portuguese, and all on the west of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith was the consideration employed by Ferdinand in soliciting this Bull, and is mentioned by Alexander to be his chief motive for granting it.

117. Several friars, under the direction of Father Boyle, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, as apostolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus in this second expedition, who were to devote themselves to the instruction and conversion of the natives. Those who went to Spain with Columbus, after being imperfectly instructed in the Christian religion, were baptized with great solemnity ; the king himself, his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their sponsors.

118. Ferdinand and Isabella having now acquired a title which, in that age, was deemed completely valid, there was nothing that retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was impatient to revisit the colony he had left, and pursue that career of glory, upon which he had entered. He set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1493, and steered farther towards the south than in the first expedition : by which he enjoyed more steadily the benefit of the regular winds which predominate between the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluster of islands, situated considerably to the east of those which he had formerly discovered.

119. On the second of November, 1493, he made land : it was one of the Caribbee or Leeward islands, to which he gave the name of Deseada, on account of the impatience of his crew to discover some part of the New World. After this he touched successively at Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Antigua, St. John de Porto Rico, and several other islands, as he advanced towards the north-west. All these he found inhabited by that fierce race of people, whom Guacanahari had represented in such frightful colors. From them the Spaniards met with such a reception as convinced them of their martial and daring spirit ; and they found in their habitations the relics of those horrid feasts, which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies whom they had taken in war.

120. Columbus, eager to know the state of the colony he had left, proceeded quickly for Hispaniola. When he arrived off Navidad, where he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared ; and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen. Foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives, from whom he might have received information, fled at his approach. The fort which he had built was demolished, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils scattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison.

121. While the Spaniards were lamenting over the sad memorials of their countrymen, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived, who gave Columbus a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the island. The conduct of the Spaniards, and their familiar intercourse with the Indians, tended to diminish that veneration with which they at first inspired them.

122. As soon as the powerful restraints, which the presence and authority of Columbus imposed, were withdrawn, the garrison threw off all subordination to the officer whom he had left in command. They roamed as freebooters through the country : the gold, the women, the provisions, were all the prey of these licentious oppressors : they extended their rapacity to every corner of the island. Gentle and timid as the inhabitants were, unprovoked injuries at length roused their courage.

123. The cazique of Cibao, whose territories the Spaniards chiefly infested, on account of the gold which they contained, surprised and cut off several straggling parties. He next assembled his subjects, surrounded the fort, and set it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it, the rest perished in attempting to escape, by crossing an arm of the sea. Guacanahari, who still retained his affection for the Spaniards, took up arms in their defence, and received a wound, by which he was still confined.

124. Columbus, although he entertained some suspicions of the fidelity of Guacanahari, considered that this was not a proper time to inquire into his conduct : he, therefore, rejected the advice of several of his officers, who urged him to seize the person of that prince, and revenge the death of their countrymen, by attacking his subjects. He considered it necessary to secure the friendship of some potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the settlement which he intended.

Therefore, in order to prevent any future injury, he made choice of a more healthy situation than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain before a spacious bay, and made every person put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended ; the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced by their united labor, as to afford them shelter and security.

125. This being the first city founded in the new world, by the Europeans, Columbus named it Isabella, in honor of his patroness, the queen of Castile. Columbus had to sustain all the hardships in carrying on this necessary work, and encounter all the difficulties to which infant colonies are exposed, when they settle in an uncultivated country : he had also to contend with what was more difficult and insuperable, the idleness, the impatience, and the mutinous disposition of his followers. The natural inactivity of the Spaniards, seemed to increase under the enervating influence of a warm climate. Some of them were gentlemen unused to bodily fatigue ; they had engaged in the enterprise with the sanguine hopes, excited by the splendid and exaggerated accounts of those who had returned with Columbus from his first voyage, conceiving the country was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir whence Solomon imported those precious commodities, which suddenly diffused such immense riches through his kingdom.

126. But when, instead of that golden harvest, which they expected to reap without much toil or pains, they found their prospect of wealth was remote and uncertain ; and, if attained, it must be by slow and persevering efforts of industry ; the disappointment of their hopes occasioned such dejection of mind, as led to general discontent. In vain did Columbus endeavor to revive their spirits by expatiating on the fertility of the soil, and displaying the specimens of gold daily brought in from the different parts of the island. Their patience was too much exhausted to wait the gradual returns of the former, and they despised the latter as scanty and inconsiderable.

127. A conspiracy was formed, which threatened fatal consequences to Columbus, and the colony. Fortunately he discovered it, and seized the ringleaders ; some of them he punished, and sent the others prisoners to Spain ; with these he sent twelve ships, which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men, and a large supply of provisions.

128. That the people might not have leisure to brood over their disappointments, and nourish a spirit of discontent, he

sent them on several expeditions into the interior part of the country. One detachment he sent under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, an enterprising officer, to visit the district of Cibao, which was said to yield the greatest quantity of gold ; and he followed with the main body of the troops. He displayed in this expedition, all the pomp of military parade, in order to strike the imagination of the natives : he marched with colors flying, martial music and a small body of cavalry, that sometimes appeared in front, and sometimes in the rear. The horses were objects of terror, no less than admiration, to the Indians, who were unacquainted with that vast accession of power, which man had acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They considered them as one animal with their riders : they were astonished at their speed, and deemed their strength and impetuosity irresistible.

129. Notwithstanding this display of power, wisely intended to inspire the natives with a high idea of the strength of the Spaniards, Columbus did not neglect the art of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered strictly to the principles of integrity and justice, in all his transactions with them, and treated them, on every occasion, with humanity and indulgence.

130. The district of Cibao was mountainous and uncultivated : in every brook and river gold was gathered, either in dust or grains ; some of which were of considerable size. The Indians had never penetrated into the bowels of the earth, in search of gold ; they had neither capacity nor inclination to refine the rude ore ; these were operations too complicated for their talents or industry : neither did they wish to put their ingenuity and invention upon the stretch in order to obtain it.

131. The Spaniards, however, no longer doubted that the country contained rich treasures in its bosom, of which they soon expected to be masters. The account of these promising appearances of wealth, in the country of Cibao, comforted the desponding colony, which was afflicted with distresses of various kinds. Food became scarce, and what remained was corrupted by the heat and humidity of the climate, so as to render it unfit for use. The ground the natives cultivated was insufficient for their own subsistence, and the Spaniards had neither time nor leisure, to reap any considerable fruits from their own industry.

132. They now became afraid of perishing with hunger, and were reduced to live on a short allowance. Diseases, prevalent in the torrid zone, began to spread amongst them ; alarmed at their violence and unusual symptoms, they exclaimed against

Columbus and the companions of his former voyage, who, by their exaggerated descriptions of Hispaniola, had allured them from their native country, to settle in a barbarous uncultivated land, to die either by famine, or of unknown distempers. These complaints came not only from the common people, but several officers and persons of note joined in these seditious complaints: Father Boyl, the apostolic vicar, was one of the most turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority and address of Columbus, to re-establish order and tranquillity in the colony. But the prospect of wealth, from the mines of Cibao, contributed to soothe the malcontents, which they hoped would be a recompense for all their sufferings, and efface the memory of past disappointments. When concord and order were in a good degree established, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication, were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate part of the globe, hitherto unvisited.

133. He appointed his brother, Don Diego Columbus, and a council of officers, to assist in governing the island in his absence. To Don Pedro Margarita, he gave the command of a body of troops, with whom he was to visit the different parts of the island, and endeavor to establish the authority of the Spaniards. Having left them instructions with respect to their conduct, he weighed anchor the twenty-fourth of April, 1494, taking with him one ship and two small vessels.

134. During this voyage, he experienced all the hardships to which persons of his profession are commonly exposed, and notwithstanding he was out five months, made no additional discovery, except the island of Jamaica, which appeared beautiful in the extreme. As he sailed on this unknown course, he was entangled among rocks and shelves, retarded by contrary winds, assaulted by furious storms, and alarmed with the thunder and lightning, which is prevalent at certain periods between the tropics. To add to his distress, his provisions fell short. His crew, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, murmured and threatened; and were ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him.

135. Danger appearing, in various forms, kept him on continual watch, to issue every order, and superintend the execution of it. At no time his skill and experience were more severely tried; to these the squadron owed its safety. Though naturally of a vigorous and robust constitution, such unremitted

fatigue of body, and intense application of mind, brought on a high fever, terminating in a lethargy, which considerably impaired his reason and his memory, and nearly deprived him of his life. In this dilemma, the crew determined to return with all possible haste to Isabella, which they effected in five days : Columbus recovered his senses, on the abating of the fever, but he remained a considerable time in a feeble state. Here, to his inexpressible joy, he found his brother Bartholomew, which greatly contributed to his recovery. It was now thirteen years, since the two brothers had separated, and during that space they had no intercourse with each other.

136. Bartholomew, after concluding his negotiation at the court of England, had set out for Spain by the way of France. At Paris he first received the account of the discoveries his brother had made, in his first voyage, and that he was preparing to embark on a second expedition. This intelligence made him pursue his journey with the utmost dispatch : but Columbus had sailed before he reached Spain.

137. Ferdinand and Isabella received him, with the respect due to the brother of a man, whose services and merit had rendered him so conspicuous : and as they knew what consolation it would afford Columbus, they persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the new colony.

138. Columbus never stood more in need of such a friend to assist him with his counsel, or of dividing with him the cares of government. For although the provisions, now brought from Europe, proved a temporary relief, from the calamities of famine, the quantity was too small to last them long, and the produce of the island was insufficient to support them. They were also threatened with a danger more formidable than the return of scarcity ; and which demanded more immediate attention.

139. When Columbus was absent from the island, on this last expedition, the soldiers under the command of Margarita, contemned all subordination, dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion on the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated those inoffensive people, with all the insolence of military oppression. While the Indians retained any hopes of their sufferings coming to an end, by the voluntary departure of their invaders, they submitted in silence and dissembled their indignation : but, now that they discovered the yoke would be as permanent as it was intolerable ; self-preservation prompted them to assume cour-

age, and attack their oppressors with united force, and drive them from the settlements, of which they had violently taken possession. Such were the sentiments, which universally prevailed amongst the Indians, when Columbus returned to Isabella, from his last expedition.

140. Inflamed, and justly irritated, by the outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage, of which their gentle natures seemed hardly susceptible, they waited only for a signal from their leaders, to fall upon the colony. Some of the caziques had already surprised, and cut off several stragglers. The dread of impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety, but in committing themselves to his guidance.

141. It was now become necessary, to have recourse to arms; an event, Columbus had anxiously wished to avoid. The vast superiority of the natives in number, compensated in a great measure their want of fire-arms; one unforeseen event, might have proved fatal to the Spaniards. Conscious that success depended on the rapidity and vigor of his operations, Columbus instantly assembled his forces, which were reduced to a very small number; two hundred infantry, twenty cavalry, and as many large dogs, were all the force he could muster, against, agreeably to the Spanish accounts, one hundred thousand Indians. Although it may seem strange, to mention dogs as composing part of a military force, they were perhaps as formidable and destructive as so many men in arms, when employed against naked and timid Indians.

142. All the caziques of the island, Guacanahari excepted, who still retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards, were in arms to oppose Columbus. Instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the woods and mountains, they were so imprudent, as to take their station in the most open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their mistake, or to alter their position. He attacked them during the night, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory.

143. The noise and havoc made by their fire-arms; the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the fierce onset of the dogs, were so great, that the Indians were filled with consternation: they threw down their arms, and fled without making any resistance: many of them were slain, more were taken prisoners, and reduced to slavery. From that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, and relinquished all thoughts of contending with aggressors, whom they deemed invincible. Humanity must lament the sad reverse of that unhappy race,

who had enjoyed the free and unmolested enjoyment of their native woods; their wants were supplied by the spontaneous productions of the earth; but now an unknown race had invaded their country, and forced them to submit to exactions with which they were by no means enabled to comply, consistently with their ideas of perfect liberty.

144. Columbus employed several months of this year in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tax upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen: each person who resided in the district where gold was to be found, was obliged to pay, quarterly, as much gold dust as would fill a hawk's bill; from others, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This served as a precedent for exactions still more oppressive. Contrary as these exactions were to the maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated, yet the intrigues carried on at the court of Spain at this juncture, with the manifest design to undermine his power, and discredit his operations, constrained him to depart from his own system of administration.

145. Several unfavorable accounts of his conduct, as well as the countries, discovered by him, had been transmitted to Spain. Margarita and father Boyl were at court; and, in order to gratify their resentment, watched with malevolent attention for opportunities to spread insinuations to his disadvantage. Several others about the court viewed his growing reputation with envious eyes. Fonseca, the archdeacon of Seville, who was intrusted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, for some reasons not made public, listened with partiality to every invective.

146. It was not easy for an unfriended stranger, unpractised in courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of such powerful enemies. There remained but one method to support his credit, and silence his enemies: he must produce such a quantity of gold, as would justify his reports, with respect to the richness of the country; the necessity of obtaining it, forced him not only to impose this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigor; and furnished him with a plausible excuse for departing from that mildness and humanity with which he had uniformly treated the unhappy people.

147. This imposition appeared the most intolerable of all evils; accustomed to pass their days in a careless manner, this restraint upon their liberty was so grievous, that they had re-

course to an expedient to deliver themselves from a yoke, imposed upon them by a handful of strangers, to whom they were under no obligations. They had recourse to an expedient for obtaining deliverance from this yoke, which demonstrates the excess of their impatience and despair. They agreed to suspend all agricultural operations, and thus hoped to starve their oppressors to death.

148. They pulled up the manioc roots that were planted, and planted no maize; and retired to the most inaccessible parts of the woods, leaving the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This desperate resolution produced some of the effects intended; the Spaniards were reduced to great want; but they received some seasonable supplies from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men.

149. The Indians were the greatest sufferers by this ill-concerted policy. Shut up among barren mountains, without any food but the wild productions of the earth, and distressed by famine, contagious diseases were the consequence: and in the course of a few months, more than a third part of the inhabitants perished.

150. Columbus now began to have serious thoughts of returning to Spain. His enemies had gained considerable influence at court: they represented his prudent care to preserve discipline and subordination, as excess of rigor; the punishments he inflicted upon the mutinous and disorderly, were imputed to cruelty; and he was represented as inconsiderately ambitious; these accusations obtained such credit in that jealous court, that a commissioner was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, to scrutinize the conduct of Columbus.

151. By the influence of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bedchamber, was made choice of, upon this occasion; a man whose capacity was by no means fit for the station. Puffed up with such sudden and unexpected elevation, Aguado displayed all that frivolous self-importance and insolence natural to little minds, in the exercise of his office. He listened with eagerness to every accusation against Columbus, and encouraged, not only the evil-disposed among the Spaniards, but also the Indians; by which partial conduct he fomented jealousies and dissensions in the colony, without establishing any regulations for the public good: and while he wished to load the administration of the admiral with disgrace, placed an indelible stain upon his own.

152. Columbus sensibly felt how humiliating his situation must be, if he remained under the control of such a partial inspector. He therefore took the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to give a full account of his transactions, with respect to the points in dispute between him and his adversaries, before Ferdinand and Isabella. He committed the administration of his affairs during his absence to his brother Don Bartholomew, with the title of Adelantado, or lieutenant-governor; and Francis Rolden, chief justice, with very extensive powers.

CHAPTER III.

COLUMBUS RETURNS TO SPAIN WITH GREAT TREASURES.—

HE SAILS ON A THIRD VOYAGE.—ARRIVES AT TRINIDAD.—

MUTINY OF ROLDEN.—HE IS SENT AS A PRISONER TO SPAIN.

—OVANDO'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR.

153. In returning to Europe, Columbus held a different course to what he had taken in his former voyage. He steered almost due east from Hispaniola in the parallel of twenty-two degrees of latitude: as he was unacquainted with the more expeditious method of stretching to the north, whereby he would have fallen in with the south-west winds. By this mistake he was exposed to very great fatigue and danger; and had to struggle with the trade-winds which blow, without variation, from the east, between the tropics.

154. He nevertheless persisted in this course with his usual patience and firmness, but made such little way, that he was three months before he came within sight of land. Provisions at last began to fail: they were reduced to the allowance of six ounces of bread a day for each person: the admiral faring no better than the meanest sailor.

155. In this extreme distress, he retained that humanity which distinguished his character; and refused to comply with the pressing solicitations of his crew to feed upon the Indian prisoners, whom they were carrying over; others insisted that they should be thrown overboard, in order to lessen the consumption of provisions. He objected to their destruction, alleging that they were human beings, reduced to the same calamities with themselves, and entitled to share an equal fate. These arguments, backed by his authority, dissipated those wild ideas suggested by despair: soon after, they came in sight of Spain, and all their troubles and fears vanished.

156. Columbus, conscious of his own integrity, appeared at court with that determined confidence, which those who have

performed great actions, will always assume. Ferdinand and Isabella, ashamed of lending too favorable an ear to frivolous and ill-founded accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect, as overwhelmed his enemies with shame. Their calumnies and censures were not heard at that juncture.

157. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other rich commodities which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute the stories the malcontents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the country. By reducing the Indians to obedience, and imposing a regular tax upon them, he had secured to Spain a large accession of new subjects, and a revenue that promised much. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a source of wealth was still more copiously opened.

158. Columbus represented these only as preludes to future and much larger acquisitions, and as an earnest of more important discoveries. The attentive consideration of all these circumstances made such an impression upon Ferdinand and Isabella, that they resolved to supply the colony with every thing necessary to render it a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet, that he might proceed to make such discoveries as he meditated.

159. A plan was now formed of a regular colony, that might serve as a model for all future establishments. Every particular was considered with attention, and arranged with scrupulous accuracy. The exact number of adventurers who should be permitted to embark was fixed: these were to be of different ranks and professions; and the proportion of each was established, according to their usefulness and benefit to the colony. A proper number of women were chosen to accompany these new settlers.

160. As a want of provisions had occasioned great distress in the colony, a number of husbandmen were to be carried over. As they had formed and entertained the most sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines, a number of artists were engaged who were skilful in refining the precious metals; who were to receive pay from the government for a number of years.

161. Thus far the regulations were well adapted to the end in view; but as it was foreseen that few would embark to settle in a country that had proved so fatal to many of their countrymen, Columbus proposed to employ such convicts and malefactors who were convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature; and that, instead of sending them to the galleys, they should be condemned to labor in the

mines which were to be opened. This advice was inconsiderately adopted ; the prisons were drained to collect members for the intended colony ; and the judges were instructed to recruit it by their future sentences. But they were not aware that such corrupt members would poison the body politic, and be productive of violent and unhappy effects. This the Spaniards fatally experienced, and other European powers imitated their practice, from which pernicious consequences have followed, and can be imputed to no other cause.

162. Columbus easily obtained the royal approbation to every measure and regulation he proposed : but his endeavors to carry them into execution, were long retarded, and must have tired out any man of less patience than himself. Those delays were occasioned, partly by that tedious procrastination, so natural to the Spaniards ; partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which at that time was drained by the celebration of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son, with Margaret of Austria ; and that of Joanna, their daughter, with Philip of Austria : but the chief source of all these delays, must principally be imputed to the malice of his enemies.

163. These men, astonished at the reception Columbus had met with, and overawed by his presence, gave way, for some time, to a tide of favor too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity, however, was too strong to remain long inactive ; and by the assistance of Fonseca, minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to be bishop of Badajos, they threw in so many obstacles, that the preparations were retarded a whole year, before he could procure two ships, to send over a part of the supplies intended for the colony ; and near two years were spent before the small squadron was ready, of which he was to take the command. This squadron consisted of six ships of no great burden, and indifferently provided for a long voyage.

164. He now meditated a different course from what he had before undertaken : still possessed with those erroneous ideas, which at first induced him to consider the country he had discovered, as a part of the continent of India : he expected to find those fertile regions to the south-west of the countries he had discovered. He therefore proposed, as the most certain course for finding out these, to stand directly for the Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before a favorable wind which blows invariably between the tropics.

165. Full of this idea, he set sail for his third voyage on the thirtieth of May, 1498, and touched at the Canaries, and

Cape de Verd islands ; from Ferro he dispatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony of Hispaniola : with the other three he pursued his course to the south.

166. No remarkable occurrence happened until they arrived within five degrees of the line, when they were becalmed, and the heat was so excessive that the Spaniards were apprehensive the ships would take fire ; their fears were relieved by a shower of rain, but this did not much abate the heat. The admiral was so fatigued by unremitting care and loss of sleep, that he was seized with a violent fit of the gout and a fever. These circumstances induced him to listen to the remonstrances of his men, and to alter his course to the north-west, that he might reach some of the Caribbee islands, where he might refit, and obtain a fresh supply of provisions.

167. On the first of August, the man stationed at the mast-head, surprised them with the joyful cry of *Land!* Columbus named it Trinidad, which name it still retains ; it lies near the mouth of the river Orinoco, on the coast of Guiana. This river rolls towards the ocean such a vast body of water, and with such an impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on that coast rises to an uncommon height, it occasions such a swell and agitation, as are both surprising and formidable.

168. Columbus, before he was aware of the danger, was entangled with those adverse currents, and owed his safety by boldly venturing through a narrow strait which appeared so tremendous, that he called it *La Boca del Drago* : no sooner had the consternation subsided, than Columbus drew comfort and consolation from a circumstance so full of peril. He wisely concluded, that such a vast body of water could not be supplied by any island, but must flow through a country of immense extent, and that he had now arrived at that country, which had been the main object of his pursuit.

169. Full of this idea, he stood to the west along the coast of those provinces, now known by the names of Paria and Cumana. He landed in several places, and found the inhabitants resembled those of Hispaniola ; they wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold, and pearls of considerable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. Their understanding and courage appeared superior to the inhabitants of the islands.

170. This country produced four-footed animals of different kinds, and a great variety of fowls and fruit. The admiral was so much delighted with its fertility, that with the warm en-

thusiasm of a discoverer, he imagined it to be the paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty had chosen for the residence of man, while he was innocent and worthy of such possession.

171. Thus, Columbus had the glory of discovering a new world, making considerable progress towards a perfect knowledge of it, and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast settlement, which has been the chief seat of their empire, and source of their treasures. The weak situation of his ships, scarcity of provisions, and his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, made it necessary for him to steer away for Hispaniola. On the thirtieth of August, 1498, he reached that island, and found the colony in such a situation, as left him no prospect of enjoying that repose, which he stood so much in need of. Many changes had happened, during his absence. His brother, the Adelantado, agreeably to former instructions, had removed the colony from Isabella, to a more convenient station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of the town of St. Domingo.

172. As soon as they were established in this new settlement, the Adelantado, to prevent the people from forming new cabals, marched into other parts of the island, which his brother had not yet reduced to obedience; as the people were unable to resist, they submitted everywhere to the tribute imposed. While the Adelantado was thus employed, an alarming mutiny broke out, among the Spaniards: the ringleader was Francis Roldan, who was placed by Columbus, to be the guardian of order and tranquillity, in the colony.

173. The arguments he employed to seduce his countrymen, were frivolous and ill-founded. He accused Columbus, and his two brothers, of arrogance and severity. He insinuated, that they aimed at establishing an independent dominion in the country; for this purpose, they designed to cut off part of the Spaniards, by hunger and fatigue, that they might, more easily, reduce the remainder to subjection; he said, it was unworthy of Castilians, to be the tame and passive slaves of three Genoese adventurers.

174. By these insidious means, strengthened by his rank, a deep impression was made on the minds of his countrymen, already prepared to receive unfavorable impressions. A considerable number made choice of him, for their leader, and took up arms against the Adelantado and his brother, seized the king's magazine of provisions, and endeavored to surprise the fort at St. Domingo. This was preserved by the vigilance

of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued, not only to oppose the Adelantado's authority themselves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

175. Such was the distracted state of the colony, when Columbus arrived. He was astonished to find that the three ships, which he had dispatched from the Canaries, had not yet arrived. By want of skill in the pilots, and the violence of the currents, they had been carried one hundred and sixty miles west of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in a harbor of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his seditious followers were cantoned. Roldan carefully concealed from the commanders, his insurrection against the Adelantado, and employed all his art to gain their confidence; persuaded them to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers whom they brought over, that they might proceed, by land, to St. Domingo.

176. It required no great argument with those men, to espouse his cause. They were the refuse of the jails of Spain. These were familiarized to deeds of violence, and eagerly returned to a course of life to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the ships were convinced, when it was too late, of their imprudence, and stood away for St. Domingo, and got safe into port a few days after the admiral.

177. These ships brought but small relief to the colony, their provisions being much reduced by the length of the voyage. Roldan, by the additional force of his new associates, became extremely formidable, and extravagant in his demands. Columbus, filled with resentment at his ingratitude, and highly incensed at the insolence of his followers, yet appeared in no haste to take the field. He trembled at the thought of kindling the flames of civil war. He saw, with regret, that the prejudices and passions which had excited the rebels to take arms, had infected those who still adhered to him, and rendered them cold in his service. He therefore chose to negotiate rather than fight. By a seasonable proclamation, offering pardon to such as returned to their duty, he made impressions on some of the malcontents. To those who were desirous of returning to Spain, he gave full liberty: and thus he softened the asperities of those who were disgusted with the country, and disappointed in their views. He soothed Roldan's pride, by promising to restore him to his former office; and by complying with the commands of others, he satisfied their avarice. Thus gradually, and without bloodshed, after several tedious negotiations, he

dissolved a confederacy that threatened ruin to the colony, and restored order and regular government.

178. This mutinous disposition in the people prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries on the continent. As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain, with an account of the voyage he had made, together with a description of the countries which he had discovered; a chart of the coast along which he sailed; also specimens of the gold, pearls, and other curiosities found there. At the same time, he transmitted an account of the insurrection in Hispaniola. Roldan and his followers did not neglect to convey to Spain, by the same ships, an apology for their conduct, and recriminated upon the admiral, and his brothers.

179. Unfortunately for the honor of Spain, and the happiness of Columbus, Roldan gained the most credit at court, and produced unexpected events. The perpetual occupation and disquiet which the malcontents in the colony gave him, prevented him from attending to the machinations of his enemies, in the court of Spain. Several of these had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe, in the ships Columbus had dispatched from St. Domingo.

180. Inflamed with rage at the disappointment of all their hopes, their poverty and distress excited compassion, and gave their accusations the appearance of probability, and made their complaints interesting. They teased Ferdinand and Isabella with memorials, containing an account of their own grievances, and charges against Columbus. Whenever the king and queen appeared in public, they were surrounded by a crowd of petitioners, demanding payment of arrears due to them, and vengeance on Columbus, as the author of their sufferings. The admiral's sons were insulted wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of a projector, whose fatal curiosity had discovered those pernicious regions which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people.

181. These endeavors to ruin Columbus, were powerfully seconded by that party of courtiers, who had always thwarted his schemes, and were stung with envy at his success and credit. Ferdinand listened with a willing and partial ear to every accusation: time had now diminished the first sensations of joy, which the discovery of the New World had occasioned, and fame alone was not sufficient to satisfy the cold and avaricious mind of Ferdinand. He considered Spain as a loser by the enterprise of Columbus, and imputed it to his incapacity for government, that a country abounding in gold had not yielded

a greater value to its conquerors. Even Isabella began to give way to the number and boldness of his accusers, and concluded that there must have been some occasion, on his part, that caused such complaints against him. This was no sooner known, than a resolution fatal to Columbus was taken.

182. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into the conduct of Columbus; and if he found the charge of mal-administration proved against him, to supersede him in the government. It was impossible for Columbus to escape condemnation, when this preposterous commission made it the interest of the judge to find him guilty.

183. Though Columbus had restored tranquillity in the island; though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians to submit quietly to his government, yet the interested Bovadilla, without attending to the merit of those services, showed a determined purpose of treating him as a criminal. He seized the admiral's house in St. Domingo, when he was absent, with all his effects; he rendered himself master of the fort, and the king's stores, by violence; and required all persons to acknowledge him as supreme governor; he set at liberty all the prisoners confined by the admiral; and summoned him to appear before his tribunal to answer for his conduct, sending him at the same time a copy of the royal mandate, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield implicit obedience.

184. Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injustice of Ferdinand and Isabella, submitted with a respectful silence to the will of his sovereigns, and repaired directly to the court of that violent and partial judge. Bovadilla, without admitting him to his presence, ordered him instantly to be arrested, loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship. Under this humiliating reverse of fortune, that firmness of mind which had hitherto supported him, did not forsake him. Conscious of his own integrity, and solacing himself with the great things he had achieved, he endured this insult, not only with composure, but with a dignity that surprised and overawed his enemies.

185. Bovadilla, to excuse his own conduct, and load Columbus with infamy, encouraged all persons, however infamous, to lodge informations, though false and inconsistent, against him; out of these Bovadilla collected materials to support an accusation, which he transmitted to Spain, at the same time that he ordered Columbus and his two brothers to be carried thither in fetters: and added the cruel insult of confining the brothers in

different ships, excluding them from that friendly intercourse which might have soothed them under such accumulated distress.

186. But although the Spaniards, in Hispaniola, approved of the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of Bovadilla, there was one man who still remembered how much his countrymen were indebted to Columbus; and was touched with pity for the man who had performed such great actions. This was Alonzo de Vallejo, the captain of the vessel on board of which the admiral was confined. As soon as he was clear of the island, he approached his prisoner with great respect, and offered to release him from the fetters with which he was so unjustly loaded. 'No,' replied Columbus, with a noble indignation, 'I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns; they shall find me as obedient to this, as to their other injunctions. By their command I am brought into this situation, and their command alone shall set me at liberty.'

187. The voyage to Spain was fortunately very short. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner, in chains, they felt the necessity of disavowing all such inhuman proceedings. They saw that all Europe would be filled with indignation at such ungenerous conduct towards a man to whom they were so much indebted, and who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompense. Ashamed of their own conduct, and eager to make some reparation for this injury, as well as to efface the stain upon their own characters, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty; invited him to court; and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank.

188. When he came into the royal presence, the various passions which agitated his mind, for a time suppressed the power of utterance. He at length recovered himself, and justified his conduct by producing the fullest proof of his innocence and integrity: and exposed the evil designs of his enemies, who, not contented with having ruined his fortune, aimed a deadly blow at his honor and fame. He was treated by Ferdinand with decent civility; by Isabella with tenderness and respect. They concurred in expressing their sorrow for the treatment he had so unjustly received, disavowing their knowledge of it, and promised him protection and future favor.

189. Bovadilla was instantly degraded, that all suspicion might be removed from themselves, as authors of such disgraceful and violent proceedings: yet they neglected to restore

to Columbus those privileges before granted him as viceroy; and which he so justly merited. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, a mean, illiberal jealousy still subsisted. To a man who had discovered and put them in possession of a country that was a source of envy to all Europe, they were afraid to trust: they retained him at court, under various pretexts; and appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hispaniola. This ungenerous conduct exasperated Columbus to such a degree, that he could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went, he carried about with him the fetters with which he had been loaded. He had them hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders that when he died, they should be buried with him.

190. Notwithstanding this ungenerous treatment of Columbus, the spirit of discovery continued active and vigorous. Roderigo de Bastidas, and John de la Cosa fitted out two ships in company; the latter, having served under Columbus in two voyages, was deemed the most skilful pilot in Spain. They steered directly for the continent, and arrived on the coast of Paria, and continuing to the west, discovered the coast of the province now called Terra Firma, from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien.

191. Not long after, Ojeda, with Amerigo Vespucci, set out on a second voyage, and held the same course with the former, and touched at the same places. The voyage of Bastidas was prosperous and lucrative: that of Ojeda, unfortunate: but both tended to increase the ardor of discovery; for, as the Spaniards became more acquainted with the extent of the American continent, their ideas of its opulence and fertility increased.

192. Before these adventurers returned, a fleet was equipped at the public expense, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor, to Hispaniola. His presence was very necessary, that a period might be put to the imprudent administration of Bovadilla, which threatened the destruction of the colony; and who, conscious of the injustice and violence of his proceedings against Columbus, made it his sole study to gain the favor of his countrymen, by gratifying their passions, and accomodating himself to their prejudices.

193. With this intent he established regulations in every respect the reverse of those which Columbus had deemed essential to the welfare of the settlement. Instead of that severe discipline, which was necessary to habituate the dissolute and corrupt members of society, and restrain them within proper

bounds, he suffered them to enjoy such uncontrolled liberty as led to the most extravagant excesses. So far from protecting the Indians, he gave a legal sanction to the oppression of that unhappy people. He divided them into distinct classes, and distributed them amongst his adherents; reducing them to a state of complete servitude.

194. The rapacity and impatience of the Spaniards after gold, was such, that in their pursuit of it, they neglected all other means of acquiring wealth. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines, by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labor so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life, wasted that feeble race of men, with such rapid consumption, as must soon have exterminated the ancient inhabitants of the island.

195. The necessity of providing a remedy for these evils, hastened Ovando's departure. He commanded the most respectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World. It consisted of thirty-two ships, having on board two thousand five hundred persons, with an intention of settling in the country.

196. Upon the arrival of the new governor, Bovadilla resigned his charge, and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, to answer for his conduct. Roldan and the other ring-leaders of the mutineers, who had been so active in opposing Columbus, were ordered to leave the island at the same time. The natives were declared free subjects of Spain, by public proclamation, of whom no service was required, without paying them the full price of their labor. Various regulations were made, tending to suppress the licentiousness of the Spaniards, which had been so fatal to the colony.

197. To limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make by working the mines, an order was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public smelting-house; and one half of it was declared to be the property of the crown.

CHAPTER IV.

COLUMBUS SAILS THE FOURTH TIME FROM CADIZ.—HE VISITS ST. DOMINGO.—ALSO HONDURAS AND YUCATAN.—SUFFERS SHIPWRECK.—HIS DEATH.

198. While these steps were taking for the security and tranquillity of the colony, Columbus was engaged in the fruitless and unpleasant employment of soliciting an ungrateful court to fulfil its agreements; and demanded, according to the original stipulation in the year 1492, to be reinstated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had discovered; but he solicited in vain. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made the jealous Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extravagant and impolitic; he inspired Isabella with the same sentiments: and under various pretexts, equally frivolous and unjust, they eluded all the requisitions of Columbus to perform that which a solemn treaty bound them to accomplish.

199. After attending the court of Spain nearly two years, as an humble suppliant, at length he was convinced that he labored in vain. But even this ungenerous return did not discourage him from pursuing the great object which first called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt discovery. To open a new passage to the East Indies was his original and favorite scheme. This continued to engross his thoughts; he conceived an opinion that beyond the continent of America, there was a sea which extended to the East Indies, and hoped to find some strait or narrow neck of land, by which a communication might be opened; and from the part of the ocean already known, by a very fortunate conjecture, he supposed this strait or isthmus to be situated near the Gulf of Darien.

200. Filled with this idea, though now far advanced in age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered cheerfully to undertake a voyage which would ascertain this important point, and perfect the grand scheme which, from the beginning, he proposed to accomplish.

201. Ferdinand and Isabella willingly came into the proposal: they were glad of some honorable employment that would remove from court, a man, with whose demands they were determined not to comply, and whose services it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were sensible of his merits, they were convinced of his skill and conduct, and had reason to confide in his success.

202. To these considerations there was a still more powerful influence. About this time, 1502, the Portuguese fleet under Cabral, arrived from the Indies ; and by the richness of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea, than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence of the East. The Portuguese had been more successful in their discoveries than the Spaniards. They opened a communication with countries where industry, arts, and elegance, flourished, and where commerce had been long established, and carried to a greater extent than in any region of the earth.

203. Their voyages thither yielded immediate and vast profit, in commodities that were extremely precious and in great request. Lisbon became the seat of commerce and of wealth ; while Spain had only the expectation of remote benefit, and future gain, from the western world.

204. Columbus's offer to conduct them to the East by a route which he expected would be much shorter and less dangerous, was very acceptable to the Spaniards. Even Ferdinand was roused by such a prospect, and warmly approved of the undertaking.

205. Notwithstanding the importance of the object of this fourth voyage, to the nation, Columbus could procure only four small barks ; the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons burden : accustomed to brave danger, he did not hesitate to accept the command of this pitiful squadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his second son Ferdinand, the historian of his actions, accompanied him.

206. He sailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, 1502, and touched as usual at the Canary islands ; from thence it was his intention to have directed his course to the continent ; but his largest vessel was so heavy a sailer, and so unfit for the expedition, that he was obliged to bear away for Hispaniola, that if possible, he might exchange her for some ship of the fleet that had carried over Ovando.

207. When he arrived off St. Domingo, he found eighteen of these ships ready loaded, and on the eve of their departure for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested to enter the harbor, not only that he might have permission to negotiate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter, during a violent hurricane which he discerned was approaching : on that account he also advised the governor to put off the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refused his request

and despised his counsel. Under circumstances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a stranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence, and had acquired possession. He was regarded as a visionary prophet, arrogating to himself the power to predict an event beyond the reach of human foresight.

208. The fleet set sail, June 29th, 1502, for Spain : and the ensuing night the hurricane came on, with dreadful impetuosity and violence. Columbus alone, aware of the danger, took precautions against it ; and saved his little squadron. The fleet bound to Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders merited. Of eighteen ships, two or three only escaped. In this general wreck perished Bovadilla and Roldan, and the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus and oppressing the Indians ; together with all the wealth which they had acquired by injustice and cruelty. It exceeded in value 200,000 dollars ; an immense sum at that period, and which would have been sufficient to screen them from punishment, and secure them a gracious reception at the Spanish court.

209. One of the ships that escaped had on board all the effects of Columbus, which had been recovered from the wreck of his fortune. Historians universally attribute this event to an immediate interposition of Divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, as well as to punish the oppressors of an innocent people. The ignorant and superstitious formed an opinion, which they are apt to entertain with respect to persons acting in a sphere far above their comprehension ; they believed Columbus to possess supernatural powers, and that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magical art and incantations, in order to be revenged on his enemies.

210. The inhospitable reception which Columbus met with at Hispaniola hastened his departure for the continent. He set sail July 14th, 1502, and after a tedious and dangerous voyage, he discovered Guanara, an island not far from Honduras. There he had an interview with some of the inhabitants, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared more civilized, and had acquired more knowledge in the arts than any he had hitherto conversed with.

211. In answer to the eager inquiries of the Spaniards concerning the places where they obtained the gold, of which their ornaments were made ; they directed them to the countries situated to the west, which they described as abounding in that

precious metal, in such profusion, as to be made use of in common domestic materials.

212. Instead of steering in search of a country so inviting, which would have conducted them along the coast of Yucatan, to the rich empire of Mexico ; Columbus was so intent upon his favorite scheme of discovering an inlet to the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the east towards the gulf of Darien.

213. In this navigation he discovered all the coast of the continent, from Cape Gracios à Dios, to a harbor, which for its beauty and security, he named Porto Bello. He searched in vain for an imaginary strait or inlet, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown sea : and though he went on shore several times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the gulf of Mexico from the great southern ocean.

214. He was, however, so delighted with the country, and conceived such an idea of its wealth, from the specimens of gold produced by the natives, that he resolved to leave a small colony upon the banks of the river Belem, in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himself to Spain, in order to procure what was requisite to render it a permanent establishment. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on this continent.

215. Their insolence and rapaciousness provoked the natives to take arms, and as they were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the islands, they cut off a part of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon a station they were no longer able to maintain.

216. This was not the only misfortune that befell Columbus : it was followed by a succession of disasters. Furious hurricanes, with violent storms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky vessels with destruction : while his disconsolate crew, exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions, were unwilling, or unable, to execute his commands. One of his ships was lost ; he was obliged to abandon another totally unfit for service ; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent, which, in his anguish, he named the coast of Vexation, and bore away for Hispaniola.

217. New distresses awaited him in this voyage ; he was driven back by a violent tempest from the coast of Cuba ; his vessels ran foul of each other, and were so much shattered by the shock, that with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica, where he was obliged to run them aground to prevent them

from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full : he was cast on shore upon an island, at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America : his ships were disabled beyond the possibility of repair. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola seemed impracticable ; and without this it was in vain to expect relief.

218. His genius, ever fertile in resources, and most vigorous in those perilous extremities, when weak minds abandon themselves to despair, discovered the only expedient which afforded any prospect of deliverance. He had recourse to the hospitality of the natives, who, considering the Spaniards as superior beings, were eager on all occasions to administer to their wants : from them he obtained two of their canoes ; in these, which were only fit for creeping along the coast, or crossing from one bay to another, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to set out for Hispaniola ; a voyage of above ninety miles. This they accomplished in ten days, after encountering incredible dangers, and such fatigue, that several of the Indians, who accompanied them, sunk under it and died.

219. The attention paid them by the governor of Hispaniola, was neither such as their courage merited, nor the distress of Columbus and his associates required. Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, was afraid of permitting him to set his foot in the island under his government.

220. This ungenerous passion absorbed every tender sentiment for the misfortunes of that great man ; and his own fellow-citizens were involved in the same calamity. Mendez and Fieschi spent eight months in fruitless petitions, and in seeking relief for their commander and his associates.

221. During this period, the mind of Columbus was agitated by various passions. For a time, the speedy deliverance expected from the success of Mendez and Fieschi's voyage, cheered the spirits of the most desponding ; after some time, they began to suspect that they had miscarried in the attempt, and at length they all concluded, that Mendez and Fieschi had perished.

222. Hope, the last resource of the wretched, now forsook them, and made their situation appear more dismal. The only alternative that appeared, was to end their miserable days among naked savages, far from their native country and friends. The seamen, transported with rage, rose in open mutiny—threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of their calamities ; seized ten canoes, which he had purchased of the Indians, and, despising his remonstrances

and entreaties, made off with them to a distant part of the island. At the same time, the natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country.

223. Like their neighbors, in Hispaniola, they considered the support of so many strangers to be an intolerable burden. They brought in provisions with reluctance, and with a sparing hand, and threatened to withdraw these supplies altogether. Such a resolution would have been fatal to the Spaniards: their safety depended upon the good-will of the natives; and, unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which these simple people had, at first, beheld them, destruction appeared unavoidable.

224. Though the disorderly proceedings of the mutineers had, in a great measure, effaced those favorable impressions, the ingenuity of Columbus suggested an artifice that completely answered his purpose; and not only restored, but increased, the high opinion which the Indians had formerly conceived of them.

225. By his skill in astronomy, he knew there would be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the principal persons of the district around him on the day before it happened; and after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men, whom they lately had revered; he told them the Spaniards were servants to the great Spirit, who dwells in heaven, who made and governed the world; that he was offended at their refusing to support men who were the objects of his peculiar favor, and was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity; and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the Divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them.

226. To this marvellous prediction some of them listened with careless indifference, others with credulous astonishment: but when the moon gradually began to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red color, all were struck with terror: they ran with consternation to their houses, and returning instantly to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus seeming to be moved by their entreaties, promised to comply with their desire.

227. The eclipse went off, the moon recovered its splendor, and, from that day, the Spaniards were not only profusely furnished with provisions, but the Indians avoided every thing that

could give them offence, and paid a superstitious attention to them as long as they staid upon the island.

228. During these transactions, the mutineers, enraged at their disappointments, marched to that part of the island where Columbus remained, threatening him with new dangers and insults. While they were advancing, an event happened more cruel and afflicting than any which he dreaded from them. The governor of Hispaniola, still under the influence of dark suspicions, sent a small bark to Jamaica, not to relieve Columbus, or deliver his distressed countrymen, but to investigate their condition.

229. Fearing the sympathy of those whom he sent would operate too powerfully in favor of their countrymen, he sent Escobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who adhered to his instructions with malignant accuracy: cast anchor at some distance from the island, approached the shore in a small boat, took a view of the wretched state of the Spaniards, delivered a letter of empty compliment to the admiral, received his answer, and departed.

230. When the Spaniards first descried the vessel standing towards the island, every heart exulted, expecting the hour of their deliverance had arrived: but when the vessel disappeared, they sunk into the deepest dejection, and all their hopes were lost. Columbus alone, though he felt this wanton insult, retained such composure as to be able to cheer his followers: he assured them that Mendez and Fieschi had reached Hispaniola in safety; and that they would speedily procure ships to carry them off; and as Escobar's vessel could not carry them all, he had refused to go, because he was determined not to abandon his companions in distress:—soothed with the expectation of a speedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generosity, in attending more to their preservation than his own, their spirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

231. The mutineers were now at hand. All his endeavors to reclaim those desperadoes had no other effect but to increase their frenzy: their demands became more extravagant, and their intentions more violent and bloody: it became necessary to oppose them with open force.

232. Columbus, who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. His brother, the Adelantado, marched against them. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with scorn all offers of accommodation, and rushed on boldly to the attack. They were repulsed at the first onset, and several of their most daring leaders were slain. The Adelantado, whose

strength was equal to his courage, closed with their captain, wounded, disarmed him, and made him a prisoner. This disconcerted the rest, who fled with a dastardly fear, equal to their former insolence. Soon afterwards they all submitted to Columbus, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to submit to his commands.

233. Hardly was tranquillity established, when the ships appeared, whose arrival Columbus had promised. With transports of joy the Spaniards quitted an island in which the mean jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year, exposed to misery in all its various forms.

234. When they arrived at St. Domingo, on the 18th of August, 1504, the governor, with that mean artifice usually attending vulgar minds, that labors to atone for insolence by servility, now fawned on the man he had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the most studied respect, lodged him in his own house, and distinguished him with every mark of honor.

235. But amidst those over-acted demonstrations of regard, the governor could not conceal the malignity latent in his heart. He set at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains, to be tried for his crimes, and threatened those who had adhered to the admiral, with a judicial inquiry into their conduct.

236. Columbus submitted in silence to what he could not redress: but was impatient to quit a country under the jurisdiction of a man who had treated him with such inhumanity and injustice. His preparations were soon finished, and he set sail for Spain with two ships. Disasters still continued to accompany him; one of his vessels was so disabled, as to be forced back to St. Domingo; the other, shattered by violent storms, sailed 2100 miles with jury-masts, and reached, with difficulty, the port of St. Lucar.

237. There he received an account of an event, the most discouraging that could have happened: this was the death of his patroness, queen Isabella, in whose justice, humanity, and favor he confided, as his last resource. Not one was now left to redress his wrongs, or to reward him for his services and sufferings, but Ferdinand, who had so long opposed and so often injured him. To solicit a prince, prejudiced against him, was irksome and hopeless: but thus was Columbus doomed to employ the close of his days.

238. As soon as his health would permit, he repaired to court, where he was received with cold civility: he presented petition after petition, demanding the punishment of his op-

pressors, and the rights and privileges bestowed upon him by the capitulation of 1492. Ferdinand, by an infidelity peculiar to monarchs, continued to amuse him with fair words and unmeaning promises : Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them.

239. The declining health of Columbus, flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor, nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch, whom he had served with such fidelity and success, worn out with fatigues and hardships, and broken with the infirmities which these had brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

CHAPTER V.

ANACOANA CRUELLY TREATED BY OVANDO.—BALBOA DISCOVERS THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

240. While Columbus was employed in his last voyage, the colony of Hispaniola was gradually acquiring the form of a regular government : the humane solicitude of Isabella to protect the Indians from oppression, and the proclamation, by which the Spaniards were prohibited from compelling them to work, retarded the progress of improvement for some time. The natives, who considered exemption from labor as supreme happiness, rejected, with scorn, every allurement by which they were invited to work. The Spaniards, accustomed to the service of the Indians, quitted the island ; many of those who came over with Ovando, were seized with distempers peculiar to the climate ; and in a short time nearly a thousand of them died. At the same time, the demand of one-half of the product of the mines, claimed by the crown, was found to be such an exaction, that there was no one to be found who would engage to work them upon such terms.

241. Ovando, to save the colony from ruin, relaxed the rigor of the royal edicts, and again distributed the Indians among the Spaniards, compelling them to work, for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the ground ; to cover this breach of his instructions, he enjoined their masters to pay them a certain sum, as the price of their work. He reduced

the royal share of gold found in the mines to one-fifth, and was so fortunate as to persuade the court to approve of these regulations.

242. The Indians, after enjoying a short respite from servitude, now felt the yoke of bondage to be so galling, that they made several attempts to regain their freedom. This the Spaniards considered as rebellion, and took arms in order to reduce them to obedience: considering them not as men fighting in defence of their liberty, but as slaves, who had revolted against their masters. Their caziques, when taken, were condemned like the leaders of a banditti, to the most cruel and ignominious punishments; and all their subjects, without regard to rank, were reduced to the same abject slavery. Such was the fate of the cazique of Higüey, a province in the eastern extremity of the island.

243. This war was occasioned by the perfidy of the Spaniards, in violating a treaty, began and concluded by them with the natives; and was terminated by hanging up the cazique, who defended his people with a bravery that deserved a better fate.

244. But the treatment of Anacoana, a female cazique, was still more treacherous and cruel. The province anciently called Xaragua, which extends from the fertile plain where Leogane is now situated, to the western extremity of the island, was subject to her authority. She, from that fondness with which the women of America were attached to the Europeans, had always courted the friendship of the Spaniards, and done them good offices. But some of the adherents of Roldan, having settled in her country, were so exasperated at her endeavoring to restrain their excesses, that they accused her of a design to throw off the yoke, and destroy the Spaniards.

245. Ovando, though he knew that little credit was due to such profligate characters, marched without further inquiry towards Xaragua, with three hundred foot and seventy horsemen. To prevent the Indians from taking alarm at this hostile appearance, he gave out that it was his sole intention to visit Anacoana, to whom his countrymen had been so much indebted, and to regulate with her the mode of levying the tribute payable to the king of Spain.

246. Anacoana, in order to receive this illustrious guest with due honor, assembled the principal men in her dominions, to the number of three hundred, and advancing at their head, accompanied by a vast crowd of inferior rank, she welcomed Ovando with songs and dances, and conducted him to the place

of her residence. There he was entertained for several days, with all the kindness of simple hospitality, and amused with games and spectacles usual among the natives, upon occasions of mirth and festivity.

247. Amidst the security which this inspired, Ovando was meditating the destruction of his unsuspecting and generous entertainer, and her subjects; and the manner in which he executed his scheme, discovered such meanness and barbarity, as must shock every lover of humanity.

248. Under color of showing the Indians an European tournament, he advanced with his troops in battle array. The infantry took possession of all the avenues which led to the village, while the horsemen encompassed the house in which Anacoana and her chiefs were assembled. These movements were beheld with admiration, without any mixture of fear: until, upon a signal, the Spaniards drew their swords, and rushed upon the Indians, who were defenceless, and astonished at an act of treachery which exceeded their conception. Anacoana was instantly secured; all her attendants who were in the house, were seized and bound. Fire was set to the house; and without examination, all those unhappy persons, the most illustrious in their own country, were consumed in the flames. Anacoana was reserved for a more ignominious fate: she was carried in chains to St. Domingo; and, after the formality of a trial before Spanish judges, she was condemned, upon the evidence of those very men who had betrayed her, to be publicly hanged.

249. The Indians, overawed and humbled by the destruction of their chief and principal men, submitted to the Spanish yoke. Ovando distributed them among his friends on the island. The exactions of their oppressors no longer knew any bounds: but barbarous as their policy was, and fatal to the natives, it produced considerable consequences, by calling forth the exertion of a whole nation, and pointing it in one direction.

250. The working of the mines was carried on with amazing success. During several years, the gold brought into the royal smelting-houses in Hispaniola, amounted annually to 460,000 dollars, above one hundred thousand pounds sterling: an immense sum at that time.

251. Although Ovando had treated the Indians with cruelty and treachery, he governed the Spaniards with wisdom and justice: he established equal laws, and executed them impartially; he endeavored to turn the attention of the Spaniards to industry, more useful than searching the mines for gold. Some

slips of the sugar-cane having been brought from the Canaries by way of experiment, were found to thrive with such increase in the warm soil of Hispaniola, that the cultivation of the cane became an object of attention : and, in a few years, the production of sugar was the most certain source of their wealth.

252. But notwithstanding this prosperous appearance of the colony, a calamity impended, which threatened its dissolution. The natives, on whose labor the Spaniards depended, wasted so fast, that the extinction of their whole race appeared to be inevitable. When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the number of the inhabitants was computed to be at least a million : they were now reduced to sixty thousand in the space of fifteen years. This amazing consumption of the human species was the effect of several concurring causes. The inactivity in which they were accustomed to pass their days, as it was the effect of their debility, contributed to increase it ; their food afforded them but little nourishment, and, taken in such small quantities, it was not sufficient to invigorate a languid frame, and render it equal to the efforts which industry and the avarice of their masters required.

253. The Spaniards, without attending to those peculiarities in the constitution of the Indians, imposed such tasks upon them, that many sunk under the fatigue, and ended their wretched days. Others, in despair, cut short their own existence with a violent hand. Diseases, of various kinds, completed the desolation of the island. The Spaniards, thus deprived of their slaves, found it impossible to extend their improvements, or even carry on the works which they had already begun.

254. Ovando, in order to provide an immediate remedy for an evil so alarming, proposed to transport the inhabitants of the Lucayo islands to Hispaniola, under pretence they might be civilized with more facility, and instructed to greater advantage in the Christian faith, if they were united to the Spanish colony, and under the immediate inspection of the missionaries settled there.

255. Ferdinand, deceived by this artifice, or willing to connive at an act of violence which policy represented as necessary, assented to the proposal. Several vessels were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now acquainted, that they came from a delightful country, in which their departed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent to invite them to partake of that bliss which they enjoyed. The simple people lis-

tened with wonder and credulity ; and delighted with the idea of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness.

256. By this artifice, above forty thousand were decoyed into Hispaniola to mingle their groans and tears with its native inhabitants. The ardor with which the Spaniards pursued their operations in the mines, and the success attending their pursuit, seemed to have engrossed their whole attention : no enterprise of any moment had been undertaken since the last voyage of Columbus. But the rapid decrease of the Indians rendered it impossible to acquire wealth with the same facility as formerly ; they began to form new schemes of aggrandizement, and the spirit of discovering new countries revived.

257. Juan Ponce de Leon, who commanded under Ovando in the eastern district of Hispaniola, passed over to the island of St. John de Puerto Rico, which Columbus had discovered in his second voyage, and penetrated into the interior part of the country. As he found the soil fertile, and expected from the information of the inhabitants, to discover gold mines in the mountains, Ovando permitted him to make a settlement. It was easily effected by that officer, who was eminent for his conduct and courage.

258. In a few years, Puerto Rico was subjected to the Spanish government ; the natives were reduced to servitude, and treated with the same inconsiderate rigor as those of Hispaniola ; and therefore soon exterminated.

259. About this time, Juan Diaz de Solis, in conjunction with Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of Columbus's original companions, made a voyage to the continent. They held the same course which Columbus had taken, as far as the island of Guanaos ; but, standing from thence to the west, discovered a new and extensive province, afterwards known by the name of Yucatan, and proceeded along the coast of that country.

260. This led to discoveries of greater importance. Sebastian de Ocampo, by the command of Ovando, sailed round Cuba, and first discovered that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent, was a large island. This was one of the last occurrences of Ovando's administration.

261. Ever since the death of Columbus, his son Don Diego, had been employed in soliciting Ferdinand to grant him the offices of viceroy and admiral, in the New World, together with all the other immunities and profits, which descended to him by inheritance, in consequence of the original capitula-

tion with his father. But if these dignities and revenues appeared so considerable to Ferdinand, that at the expense of being deemed unjust as well as ungrateful, he had wrested them from Columbus, it is not surprising that he should withhold them from the son.

262. Don Diego, after wasting two years in fruitless solicitation, brought his suit against Ferdinand, before the council that managed Indian affairs; and that court, with an integrity which reflects the greatest honor upon its proceedings, decided against the king; confirmed Don Diego's claim of the viceroyalty, and all the other privileges, stipulated in the original contract.

263. The sentence of the council of the Indies, gave him a title to a rank so elevated, and a fortune so opulent, that he found no difficulty in concluding a marriage with Donna Maria, daughter of Don Ferdinand de Toledo, great commendator of Leon, and brother of the duke of Alva, a grandee of the first rank, and nearly related to the king. The duke and his family so warmly espoused the cause of their new ally, that Ferdinand could not resist their solicitations. He recalled Ovando, and appointed Don Diego his successor, in 1509: in conferring this favor, he could not conceal his jealousy; for he allowed him only to assume the title of governor, and not that of viceroy, which had been adjudged to him.

264. He soon repaired to Hispaniola, attended by his brother, his uncles, his wife, whom the courtesy of the Spaniards honored with the title of vice-queen, and a numerous retinue of persons of both sexes, descended of good families. He lived with a splendor and magnificence, hitherto unknown in the New World; and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honors and rewards due to his superior genius, and of which he himself had been cruelly defrauded.

265. The colony acquired new lustre by the accession of so many inhabitants of a different rank and character, from those who had hitherto emigrated to America; and many of the most illustrious families, in the Spanish settlements, are descended from the persons who attended Don Diego at that time. Though it was above ten years since Columbus had discovered the main land of America, yet the Spaniards had hitherto made no settlement in any part of it. At length, an idea of a settlement was formed by Alonzo de Ojeda, who had formerly made two voyages as a discoverer, by which he acquired considerable reputation, but not wealth; his character for intrepidity and conduct, easily procured him associates,

who advanced the money requisite to defray the charges of the expedition.

266. About the same time, Diego de Nicuessa, who had acquired a large fortune in Hispaniola, revived the spirit of his countrymen. Ferdinand encouraged both; and though he refused to advance the smallest sum, was very liberal of titles and patents. He erected two governments on the continent; one extending from the Cape de Vela, to the gulf of Darien, and the other from that to Cape Gracias à Dios. The former was given to Ojeda, the latter to Nicuessa.

267. Ojeda fitted out a ship and two brigantines, with three hundred men: Nicuessa, six vessels, with seven hundred and eighty men. They sailed about the same time from St. Domingo, for their respective governments. There is not in the history of mankind, any thing more singular or extravagant, than the form and ceremony they made use of in taking possession of the country. They endeavored to convince the natives of the articles of the Christian faith, and in particular, of the jurisdiction of the pope over all the kingdoms of the earth; and that he had granted their country to the king of Spain: they required them to submit to his authority, and embrace the Catholic religion. If they refused to comply, Ojeda and Nicuessa were authorized to attack with sword and fire; to reduce them, their wives, and children to a state of servitude, and compel them, by force, to submit to the authority of the king, and jurisdiction of the church.

268. The Indians of the continent, spurned, with indignation, propositions so extravagant: they could not comprehend how a foreign priest, of whom they had no knowledge, could have a right to dispose of their country; or how a prince, altogether a stranger to them, should claim the right of commanding them as his subjects. They turned to ridicule such extravagant proposals, and fiercely opposed the new invaders of their territories. Ojeda and Nicuessa endeavored to effect by force what they could not accomplish by persuasion.

269. They found the natives of the continent different from their countrymen in the islands; they were fierce and brave. Their arrows were dipped in poison so deadly, that every wound was followed with certain death. In one encounter, they cut off seventy of Ojeda's followers, and the Spaniards were, for the first time, taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. Nothing could soften their ferocity. Though the Spaniards practised every art to soothe them, and gain their confidence, they refused to hold any intercourse or exchange

any friendly office : they considered them as enemies come to deprive them of their liberty and independence.

270. Though the Spaniards received two considerable reinforcements, the greater part of those engaged in the unhappy enterprise, perished in less than a year. A few, who survived, settled a feeble colony, at Santa Maria el Antigua, on the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, who, in the most desperate extremities, displayed such courage and conduct, as gained him the confidence of his countrymen, and marked him as a leader, in more splendid and successful undertakings : nor was he the only adventurer who will appear with lustre in more important scenes.

271. Francis Pizarro, who was one of Ojeda's companions, afterwards performed many extraordinary actions. Ferdinand Cortes, whose name became still more famous, had engaged early in this enterprise, which roused all the active youth of Hispaniola to arms ; but the good fortune which attended him in his subsequent adventures, interposed to save him from the disasters to which his companions were exposed. He was taken ill at St. Domingo, before the departure of the fleet, and there detained by a serious indisposition.

272. The unfortunate issue of this expedition in 1511, did not deter the Spaniards, from engaging in new schemes of a similar nature. Don Diego Columbus proposed to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there : many persons of distinction in Hispaniola entered into the measure.

273. The command of the troops sent on this expedition, was given to Diego Velasquez, one of his father's companions in his second voyage, whose ample fortune, long residence in Hispaniola, and reputation for probity and prudence, qualified him for conducting an expedition of importance. Three hundred men were deemed sufficient for the conquest of an island, seven hundred miles in length, and filled with inhabitants. But as they were the same unwarlike people as those of Hispaniola, the undertaking was not very hazardous.

274. The only obstruction the Spaniards met with, was from Hatuey, a cazique who had fled from Hispaniola and taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive when they first landed, and endeavored to drive them back to their ships : but his feeble troops were soon broken and dispersed ; he himself made prisoner ; and condemned to the flames. While he was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar, laboring to convert him, promised him the immediate joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith ; " Are

there any Spaniards," said he, after some pause, "in that region of bliss which you describe?" "Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "The best of them," replied the indignant cazique, "have neither worth nor goodness: I will not go to a place where I may meet one of that accursed race." With this dreadful example, the natives were so intimidated, that they submitted to their invaders; and Velasquez, without the loss of one man, annexed this large and fertile island to the Spanish monarchy.

275. Juan Ponce de Leon, about the year 1512, discovered Florida; he attempted to land in different places, but was repulsed with such vigor by the natives, as convinced him that an increase of force was necessary, to make a settlement with safety. But the primary object which induced him to undertake this voyage, was a tradition that prevailed among the natives of Porto Rico, that in the island of Bimini, there was a fountain of such wonderful virtue, as to renew youth, and recall the strength and vigor of every person who bathed in it. That a tale so incredible should gain belief, among simple uninstructed Indians is not surprising; but that it should make an impression on an enlightened people, appears, in the present age, altogether incredible. The tale is entitled to credibility, for the most authentic Spanish historians mention this extravagant idea of their credulous countrymen.

276. Soon after the expedition to Florida, a discovery of much greater consequence was made in another part of America. Balboa having been raised to the government of Santa Maria in Darien, made frequent inroads into the adjacent country. In one of these excursions, the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were upon the point of proceeding to violence. A young cazique, astonished at the high value they set upon a thing of which he did not discern the use, tumbled the gold out of the balance with indignation; and turning to the Spaniards, "Why do you quarrel," said he, "about such a trifle? if you are so fond of gold as to abandon your own country, and to disturb the tranquillity of other nations for its sake, I will conduct you to a region where this metal is in such abundance, that the most common utensils are made of it." Transported with what they heard, Balboa and the rest inquired eagerly where this country lay, and how they might arrive at it. He informed them, that at the distance of six suns, that is of six days' journey, they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but he told them, if they intended to

attack that powerful state, they must have forces far superior in number and strength to those with which they now appeared.

277. Balboa had now before him objects equal to his boundless ambition, and the ardor of his genius; but previous arrangements and preparations were requisite to insure success. It was his primary object to secure the friendship of the neighboring caziques; he sent some of his officers to Hispaniola with a large quantity of gold. By a proper distribution of this, they secured the favor of the governor, and allured volunteers into the service. A reinforcement from that island joined him, and then he attempted a discovery.

278. The isthmus of Darien is not above sixty miles in breadth; this neck of land, strengthened by a chain of lofty mountains, stretching through its whole extent, binds together the continents of North and South America, and forms a sufficient barrier to resist the impulse of two opposite oceans. The mountains are covered with forests almost inaccessible: the low lands are marshy and frequently overflowed, so that the Indians find it necessary, in many places, to build their huts on trees, to avoid the damps from the soil, and the odious reptiles which breed in the putrid waters.

279. To march across this unexplored country with Indian guides, of whose fidelity they were doubtful, was the boldest enterprise undertaken by the Spaniards, since the first discovery of the New World. But the intrepidity and prudent conduct of Balboa surmounted every obstacle. With only one hundred and ninety men, and some of those fierce dogs, which were no less formidable to their naked enemies, and one thousand Indians, to carry their provisions, they set out on this expedition, in the year 1513.

280. No sooner did he begin to advance, than he was retarded by many obstacles, which he had reason to apprehend, from the nature of the country, and the hostility of its inhabitants. Some of the caziques fled, at his approach, with all their people, to the mountains. Others collected their subjects in order to oppose his progress.

281. When they had penetrated a considerable distance into the mountains, a bold cazique appeared in a narrow pass, with a numerous body of troops, to oppose them. The Spaniards, who had surmounted so many obstacles, despised the opposition of such feeble enemies. They attacked them with such impetuosity, that the Indians gave way at the first onset, and many of them were slain; after which the Spaniards con-

tinued their march. Though their guide had told them it was but six days' journey across the isthmus, yet when they had been twenty-five days in forcing their way through the woods, many of them were ready to sink under the fatigues they had undergone, and all began to be impatient to reach the period of their sufferings: at length the Indians assured them that from the top of the next mountain they could discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes.

282. When they had, with infinite toil, ascended the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and he alone advanced to the summit, that he might be the first to behold a spectacle which he had so long been in quest of. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honorable to himself. His followers, observing his transports, rushed forward to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude.

283. They descended with alacrity to the shore, and Balboa advancing up to his middle in the waves, with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it against all his enemies. That part of the great Pacific or Southern ocean which Balboa first discovered, still retains the name of the gulf of St. Michael, which he gave it: it is situated to the east of Panama.

284. From several of the petty princes, who governed in districts adjacent to that gulf, Balboa levied provisions and gold, by force of arms. Others supplied him voluntarily. To these acceptable presents some of the caziques added some valuable pearls; and he learned from them that pearl oysters abounded in the ocean he had discovered. The people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and wealthy kingdom situated eastwardly, the inhabitants of which made use of tame animals to carry their burdens. They drew upon the sand the figure of the lamas, or sheep which the Peruvians had taught to perform such services as they described.

285. Balboa led his followers back by a different route, that he might acquire a better knowledge of the isthmus. This route he found no less dangerous and difficult than that which he had already taken; but, elated with success, he surmounted every difficulty, and returned to Santa Maria in safety.

286. In this expedition, none of Balboa's officers distin-

guished themselves more than Francis Pizarro, in opening a communication with those countries, in which he afterwards acted such an illustrious part. The first care of Balboa was to send information to Spain of the discovery he had made, and to demand a reinforcement of a thousand men to attempt the conquest of that opulent country, concerning which he had received such inviting intelligence from the Indian natives.

287. The first account of the discovery of the New World did not excite greater sensations of joy than that of a passage being at last discovered to the great Southern ocean; through which a passage to the East Indies, by a line westward of the line of demarcation drawn by the pope, seemed almost certain. Ferdinand now expected to come in for a share of the vast wealth that flowed into Portugal; his eagerness to obtain it made him willing to make greater efforts than Balboa required. But his jealous disposition, and the fatal antipathy of Fonseca, now bishop of Burgos, to every man of merit, who distinguished himself in the New World, were conspicuous.

288. Notwithstanding the merit and recent services of Balboa, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook them, and appointed Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He gave him the command of fifteen large vessels, and twelve hundred soldiers; these were fitted out with a liberality, at the public expense, which Ferdinand had never displayed in any former armament, destined for the New World: and such was the ardor of the Spanish gentlemen to embark for a country where, as fame reported, they had only to cast their nets into the sea and draw out gold, that fifteen hundred persons accompanied Pedrarias; many more would have engaged in the expedition, had they been permitted.

289. Pedrarias arrived at the gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and immediately sent some of his principal officers on shore to inform Balboa of his arrival, with the king's commission to be governor of the colony. Balboa received them with dignity. The fame of his discoveries had drawn so many adventurers from the islands, that he could muster four hundred and fifty men; with these hardy veterans, who murmured at the injustice of the king in superseding their governor, Balboa was able to have defeated the forces Pedrarias brought with him; but he submitted with implicit obedience to the commands of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference due to his character.

290. The moderation of Balboa, to which Pedrarias owed the peaceable possession of his government, did not screen him

from the envy his merit had excited in the breast of the new governor. Pedrarias ordered a judicial inquiry to be made into his conduct, and imposed a considerable fine upon him for certain irregularities he had committed. Balboa felt this mortification sensibly, in a place where he had held the chief command. Pedrarias could not conceal his jealousy of his superior merit, which gave rise to dissensions extremely prejudicial to the colony.

291. Balboa seeing, with concern, that the governor, by his ill-judged proceedings, retarded the execution of his favorite scheme, sent strong remonstrances to Spain against the imprudent government of Pedrarias, who had alienated the friendship of the natives from the Spaniards, by permitting his troops to plunder and oppress them at pleasure. Pedrarias, on the other hand, accused him of having deceived the king by magnifying his own exploits, and the opulence and value of the country.

292. Ferdinand was now sensible he had acted imprudently in superseding the most active and enterprising officer in the New World; and to make Balboa some compensation, he appointed him Adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority. At the same time he enjoined Pedrarias to support him in all his enterprises, and to consult with him in any measures he wished to pursue. But Ferdinand's power was not sufficient to eradicate the enmity which Pedrarias felt for Balboa.

293. The interposition and exhortations of the bishop of Darien, produced a short-lived reconciliation; and Pedrarias agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Balboa. The first effect of their concord was, that Balboa was permitted to make several excursions into the country. These were conducted with such prudence as added to his reputation. Many adventurers resorted to him, and with the support of Pedrarias, he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea.

294. After surmounting many obstacles, he finished four small brigantines. In these, with three hundred chosen men, a force superior to that with which Pizarro afterwards undertook the same expedition, he was ready to sail towards Peru, when he received an unexpected message from Pedrarias. He dreaded the prosperity of a man whom he had grossly injured, and whom he envied and feared; and so violently did the passions of hatred, fear, and jealousy operate upon his mind, that, in order to gratify his vengeance, he scrupled not to oppose the

orders of his sovereign, and defeat an undertaking of the utmost importance to his country.

295. Under false, but plausible prettexts, he desired Balboa to put off his voyage for a short time, and to repair to Aela, in order that he might have an interview with him. Balboa, conscious of no crime, instantly obeyed the summons; but no sooner had he arrived, than he was instantly arrested, by order of Pedrarias, whose impatience to satiate his revenge, did not suffer him long to languish in confinement. Judges were immediately appointed to proceed on his trial. Disloyalty to the king, and an intention to revolt against the governor, were the crimes he was accused of: sentence of death was pronounced; and, notwithstanding the judges who passed it, seconded by the principal inhabitants of the colony, interceded warmly for his pardon, Pedrarias was inexorable: and to the sorrow and astonishment of the whole colony, they beheld the public execution of a man, whom they universally esteemed more capable than any that had command in America, of forming and executing great designs.

296. After the death of Balboa, several officers who had served under Pedarias entered into an association to undertake a voyage of discovery. They persuaded Francis Hernandez Cordova, a wealthy planter in Cuba, and a man of distinguished courage, to join with them in the enterprise.

297. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, approved of the design, and assisted in carrying it on; he and Cordova advanced money for purchasing three small vessels, and furnished them with every thing necessary, either for traffic or war. One hundred and ten men embarked on board of them, and sailed from Cuba, on the eighth of February, 1517. They stood directly west, relying on the opinion of Columbus, who uniformly maintained, that a westerly course would lead to the most important discoveries.

298. On the twenty-first day after their departure from Cuba, they saw land; which proved to be Cape Catoche, the eastern point of that large peninsula, projecting from the continent, which still retains its original name of Yucatan.

299. As they approached the shore, five canoes came off, filled with people decently clad in cotton garments; an astonishing spectacle to the Spaniards, who had been accustomed to see nothing but naked savages, in all their former excursions. The natives, though amazed at the Europeans, invited them to visit their habitations, with the appearance of great cordiality. They landed accordingly; and as they advanced into the coun-

try, they were surprised at the sight of large houses built with stone. Notwithstanding their improvements in the arts of civilized life, above their countrymen, the Spaniards found them also more artful and warlike: for, though the cazique received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had placed a large body of his countrymen in ambush behind a thicket, who, upon a signal given by him, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and in some degree of martial order.

300. At the first flight of their arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded. But the Indians were struck with such terror, by the sudden explosion of their fire-arms, and so intimidated by them and by the cross-bows, and other weapons of their enemies, that they fled precipitately; and Cordova was willing to leave a country where he had met with such a fierce reception, carrying off two prisoners, together with the ornaments of a small temple, which he plundered in his retreat.

301. He continued to pursue a westerly course, keeping the coast in view, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy. There the natives received them with more hospitality. They proceeded further along the coast, and discovered the mouth of a river at Pontonchan, some leagues beyond Campeachy. Cordova landed all his troops to protect the sailors, who were employed in filling their casks with water. The natives, nevertheless, rushed down upon them with such fury, and in such numbers, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed upon the spot, and but one man among them escaped unhurt. Their commander, though wounded in twelve different places, directed the retreat with prudence, equal to the courage with which he had led them to the engagement, and with much difficulty they regained their ships.

302. Nothing remained now but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. They suffered extremely for want of water, especially the wounded and sickly, who were exposed to the heat of the torrid zone. Some of them died, and Cordova, their commander, expired soon after they landed.

303. Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this expedition, they had now discovered an extensive territory not far from Cuba: the circumstances related by the adventurers with exaggeration natural to men desirous to spread the merit of their own exploits, were sufficient to raise romantic hopes and expectations. Great numbers offered to engage in a new expedition. Velasquez, eager to distinguish himself by some brilliant undertaking that might entitle him to claim the govern-

ment of Cuba, independent of the admiral, fitted out four ships for the voyage at his own expense. In these embarked two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom were several persons of rank and fortune.

304. The command was given to Juan de Grijalva, a young officer of distinguished merit and courage. He sailed from Cuba on the 8th of April, 1518: they held the same course as in the former voyage; but the violence of the currents carried them farther south. The first land they made was the island of Gozumel, to the east of Yucatan: and without any remarkable occurrence, they reached Potonchan on the opposite side of the Peninsula. The desire of revenging their countrymen who were slain there, as well as policy, made them eager to land. But though they embarked all their troops, as well as some field-pieces, the Indians fought with such courage, that the Spaniards gained the victory with difficulty.

305. From Potonchan they continued their voyage towards the west, keeping near the shore. During the day their eyes were constantly turned towards the land, with a mixture of surprise and wonder at the beauty of the country, and the novelty of the objects they beheld. Many villages were scattered along the coast, in which they could distinguish houses of stone that appeared white and lofty at a distance; one of the soldiers remarked that this country resembled Spain at a distance. Grijalva, with universal applause, called it **NEW SPAIN**, the name which till lately distinguished this opulent province.

306. On the nineteenth of June they landed at a river which the natives called Tabasco, and the fame of their victory at Potonchan having reached this place, the cazique received them amicably, and bestowed presents upon them of such value as inspired them with great ideas of the wealth and fertility of the country. These ideas were confirmed at the next place at which they touched: this was to the west of Tabasco, in the province now known by the name of Guaxaca. They were received with the respect paid to superior beings: the people perfuming them as they landed with incense of gum copal, and offering them the choicest delicacies of their country; and, in six days, the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold of curious workmanship, to the value of fifteen thousand dollars, in exchange for European toys of small value.

307. As the Spaniards could not understand the language of the natives, they learned from them, by signs, that they were the subjects of a great monarch called Montezuma, whose dominion extended over that and many other provinces.

308. Leaving this place, they landed on a small island, which they called the Isle of Sacrificios; because there they beheld, for the first time, human victims which the natives had offered to their gods. Some of the officers contended that it was requisite to establish a colony in the country they had discovered. Grijalva judged it more prudent to return to Cuba. This was the most successful voyage the Spaniards had hitherto made in the New World.

309. Velasquez had been informed of the success of the enterprise, by an officer dispatched for that purpose, by Grijalva, who immediately sent an account to Spain of the success of the voyage; and without waiting for the orders of his sovereign, he prepared for another expedition. This terminated in conquests of greater moment than any they had hitherto achieved. When Grijalva returned to Cuba, he found an armament in readiness to attempt the conquest of that country, which he had discovered. Ambition and avarice urged Velasquez to hasten his preparations; and the alluring prospect of gratifying both, made him cheerfully advance considerable sums from his private fortune, to defray the expense. Soldiers eager to embark in any daring enterprise soon appeared. The difficulty lay in finding a person fit to take the command.

310. Velasquez was solicitous to choose an intrepid commander, and one who possessed superior abilities; but at the same time, from a jealousy natural to little minds, he wished him to be so tame and obsequious as to be entirely dependent upon his will. But he was soon convinced that it was impossible to unite such incompatible qualities in one person. Those who were conspicuous for courage, were too high-spirited to be his passive tools; and those who appeared gentle and tractable, were deficient in the necessary qualifications requisite for such an undertaking. He deliberated long, and still continued irresolute until Amado de Lares, the royal treasurer in Cuba, and Andrew Duero, his own secretary, in whom he placed great confidence, proposed Fernando Cortes, and supported their recommendation with such address and assiduity as proved successful.

CHAPTER VI.

CORTES ACCOMPANIES VELASQUEZ TO CUBA.—HE INVADES MEXICO.—CHARACTER OF MONTEZUMA.—HE MEETS CORTES.—HE IS MADE PRISONER.—CORTES GETS POSSESSION OF MEXICO.

311. Ferdinand Cortes was born at Medellin, a small town in Estremadura, in the year 1485, and descended from a noble family; but of very moderate fortune. He was sent by his parents to the university of Salamanca, where he made some progress in learning. An academic life not suiting his ardent and restless genius, he retired to Medellin, where he gave himself up entirely to active sports, and martial exercises. At this period of his life, he was so impetuous and overbearing, and so dissipated, that his father was glad to comply with his inclination, and sent him abroad as an adventurer in arms.

312. The Spanish youth who courted military glory, had an opportunity to display their valor, either in Italy, under the command of the Great Captain, or in the New World. Cortes preferred the former, but was prevented by indisposition from embarking with a reinforcement of troops sent to Naples. Then he turned his views towards America, where he hoped to advance himself under the patronage of Ovando, who was at that time governor of Hispaniola, and his kinsman. His reception was such as equalled his most sanguine hopes; and the governor employed him in several honorable and lucrative stations.

313. But his ambition was not to be satisfied with the moderate means of acquiring wealth or fame. It was in the stormy and active scenes of a military life, that he wished to distinguish himself. With this view, he requested permission to accompany Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba. In this service he acquitted himself so well, that notwithstanding some violent contests, occasioned by trivial causes, with Velasquez, he was at length taken into favor, and received an ample share of lands and Indians.

314. Though Cortes had not hitherto acted in high command, he had displayed such abilities in scenes of difficulty and danger, as raised universal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as one capable of executing great designs. The turbulence of youth, as soon as he found objects suited to the ardor of his mind, gradually subsided into a regular habit of indefatigable activity. The im-

petuosity of his temper, when he came to act with his equals, abated, and mellowed into a cordial soldierly frankness. These qualities were accompanied with calm prudence in concerting his schemes, and with persevering vigor in executing them; and what is peculiar to superior genius, the art of gaining the confidence, and governing the minds, of men. To all which was added a graceful person, an insinuating address, alertness in martial exercises, and a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue.

315. As soon as Cortes was mentioned to Velasquez by his two confidants, he flattered himself that he had found a man with talents for command, but not an object of jealousy. He concluded that his rank and fortune were not sufficient to inspire him with the hopes of independence. He had conferred several favors upon Cortes; and by this new and unexpected mark of confidence, Velasquez hoped to attach him for ever to his interests.

316. Cortes received his commission with the warmest expression of respect and gratitude to the governor, and immediately erected his standard before his own house, and assumed all the ensigns of his new dignity. He persuaded many of his friends to engage in the service, and to urge forward the preparations for the voyage. He mortgaged all his lands and Indians to procure money, which he expended in purchasing military stores and provisions, or in supplying such of his officers as were unable to equip themselves in a manner suited to their rank.

317. Inoffensive and laudable as this conduct was, his disappointed competitors were so malicious as to give it a turn to his disadvantage: they accused him of aiming, with little disguise, to establish an independent authority over his troops, and endeavoring to secure their respect and love, by an ostentatious display of his liberality. They reminded Velasquez of his former dissensions with the man in whom he now reposed so much confidence; and predicted that Cortes would avail himself of the power which he was putting into his hands to avenge past injuries, rather than to requite late obligations. These insinuations made a powerful impression on the jealous mind of Velasquez.

318. Cortes soon observed a growing alienation and distrust in his behavior, and was advised by his friends, Lares and Duero, to hasten his departure, before these should become so confirmed as to break out into open violence. Cortes, sensible of the danger, hastened his preparations with such rapidity,

that he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth of November, 1519; Velasquez accompanied him to the shore, and took leave of him with apparent friendship, though he had secretly given orders to some of his officers, to have a watchful eye upon every part of their commander's conduct.

319. Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a further supply of provisions and stores. He had hardly left St. Jago, when the jealousy of Velasquez grew so violent as to be impossible for him to suppress it. Imagination now exaggerated every circumstance which had before excited suspicion: his rivals, by their suggestions, increased his fears, and called superstition to their aid, employing the predictions of an astrologer to complete their designs. All these united, produced the desired effect.

320. Velasquez repented bitterly of his own imprudence, in committing a trust of such importance to a person, in whose fidelity he could no longer trust; and hastily dispatched instructions to Trinidad, empowering Verdugo, the chief magistrate there, to deprive Cortes of his commission. But Cortes, secure in the esteem and confidence of his troops, finding they were zealous to support his authority; he, by soothing or intimidating Verdugo, was permitted to depart from Trinidad without molestation, and sailed for the Havana, in order to raise more soldiers and complete the victualling of his fleet. There several persons of distinction entered into his service, and engaged to supply what provisions were wanting.

321. While these things were in preparation, Velasquez suffered his fears of Cortes to increase; and, in a period of jealousy, made one more attempt to wrest the command from the man in whom he had placed so much confidence. He, therefore, sent a person to the Havana, with peremptory injunctions to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, send him prisoner to St. Jago, under a strong guard; and to countermand the departure of the armament until he should receive further orders.

322. He also wrote to the principal officers, requiring them to assist Barba in executing what he had given him in charge. Fortunately for Cortes, a Franciscan friar of St. Jago had secretly conveyed an account of this interesting intelligence to Bartholomew de Olmedo, a monk of the same order, and who acted as chaplain to the expedition. This gave Cortes time to take precautions for his safety. He found some pretext to re-

move from the Havana Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great abilities; but whose known attachment to Velasquez made it unsafe to trust him in this trying and delicate juncture. He therefore gave him the command of a vessel that was to proceed to a small harbor beyond Cape Antonio, and thus removed him from his presence without appearing to suspect his fidelity.

323. When Ordaz was gone, Cortes informed his officers and soldiers of the designs of Velasquez. They were impatient to set out upon the expedition, in preparing for which, most of them had expended all their fortunes, and expressed their astonishment and indignation at that illiberal jealousy to which the governor was about to sacrifice the honor of their general, and all their sanguine hopes of glory and wealth. They all with one voice entreated him not to abandon them, and deprive them of a leader whom they followed with such unbounded confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining his authority. Cortes was easily persuaded to comply with what he so ardently desired. He swore he would never desert soldiers who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country, which had been so long the subject of their thoughts and wishes.

324. This declaration was received with transports of military applause, accompanied with threats and imprecations against all who should presume to call in question the jurisdiction of their general, or obstruct the execution of his designs. Every thing was now ready for their departure. The fleet consisted of eleven vessels: the largest was one hundred tons burden, which was dignified with the name of Admiral; three of seventy or eighty tons, and the rest small open barks. On board of these were 617 men; of which 508 belonged to the land-service, and 109 were seamen and artificers. The soldiers were divided into eleven companies, to each of which Cortes appointed a captain.

325. As the use of fire-arms among the nations of Europe, was hitherto confined to a few battalions of disciplined infantry, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets, thirty-two were cross-bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. Instead of their usual defensive armor, they wore quilted-cotton jackets; these had been found a sufficient protection against the weapons of the Indians. They had only sixteen horses, ten small field-pieces, and four falconets.

326. With this slender and ill-provided train, did Cortes set

sail to make war upon a monarch, whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. A large cross was displayed on their standards, with this inscription, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer." Thus enthusiasm and avarice united in prompting the Spaniards in all their enterprises.

327. So powerfully were Cortes and his companions animated with both these passions, that no less eager to plunder the opulent country to which they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Christian faith among its inhabitants, they set out with that confidence which arises from security of success, and certainty of divine protection.

328. Cortes steered directly for the island of Cozumel, which Grijalva had visited; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language, understood through a large extent of country; he possessed also a considerable share of prudence and sagacity; and proved extremely useful as an interpreter.

329. From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to Tabasco, in hopes of meeting as friendly a reception from the natives as Grijalva had; and of finding gold in the same abundance: but the disposition of the natives was entirely changed. After endeavoring, in vain, to conciliate their good will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed with great slaughter, in several successive actions. The loss they sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effects of the fire-arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the king of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves.

330. The next place they touched at was St. Juan de Uloa. As he entered the harbor, a large canoe, full of people, amongst whom there appeared two persons of distinction, approached the ship with signs of peace and friendship. They came on board without fear, or showing any symptoms of distrust, and addressed Cortes in a most respectful manner, but in a language unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity at an event, which he instantly foresaw would be attended with

very disagreeable consequences. But he did not remain long in this embarrassed situation.

331. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the cazique of Tabasco, was present at the interview: she saw the distress of Cortes, and the confusion of Aguilar; and, as she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they said in the Yucatan tongue. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, makes a considerable figure in the history of the New World: having been carried away captive by some hostile party, after a variety of adventures, had fallen into the hands of the Tabascans, though formerly a native of the Mexican empire. Though it was tedious and troublesome to converse by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was so highly pleased, that he considered it, in the transports of his joy, as a visible interposition of Divine Providence in his favor.

332. The two persons whom he had received on board his ship, were deputies from Pilpatoe and Teutile; the one, governor of that province, under a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma; and the other, commander of his forces there. They informed Cortes, that they were sent to inquire what were his views in visiting their coast, and to offer him assistance, if he stood in need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of their message, assured them in respectful terms, that he approached their country with the most friendly intentions; that he came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and people, which he would unfold more fully in person to the governor and general.

333. Next morning, without waiting for an answer, he landed his troops, his horses and artillery; and began to erect huts, and fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations, with an alacrity of which they afterwards had good reason to repent.

334. Next day Pilpatoc and Teutile entered the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue; and Cortes treated them with that respect due to the ministers of a great monarch, and received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the east; and was intrusted with propositions of such moment that he could impart them to none but the emperor Montezuma himself; and therefore re-

quired them to conduct him, without delay, into the presence of their master.

335. The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneasiness at a request which they knew would be disagreeable to their sovereign, whose mind had been filled with many disquieting apprehensions, ever since the Spaniards had first appeared on their coasts. Before they offered to dissuade Cortes from his demand, they endeavored to conciliate his good will, by entreating him to accept of certain presents, which, as humble slaves to Montezuma, they laid at his feet. These were introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloth, plumes of various colors, and of ornaments of gold and silver, to a considerable value; the workmanship was curious, and the materials rich.

336. The effect of these was very different to what they intended. Instead of satisfying the Spaniards, it increased their avidity, and rendered them so impatient of becoming masters of a country which abounded with such precious commodities, that Cortes could hardly listen, with patience, to the arguments of Pilpatoe and Teutile, to dissuade him from visiting the capital; and in a haughty and determined tone insisted on being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign.

337. During this interview, some painters in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating upon white cotton cloth, figures of the ships and horses, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else appeared to them new and singular. When Cortes was informed that those pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, to render the representation still more animating and interesting, and make the impression more awful, he ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm: the troops in a moment formed in order of battle, the infantry performed such martial exercises as were best suited to display the effect of their different weapons; the horse, in various evolutions, showed their agility and strength; the artillery, pointed towards the thick wood which was in front of the camp, made dreadful havoc among the trees.

338. The Mexicans looked on with silent amazement, at objects so awful, and above their comprehension. At the explosion of the cannon, many of them fled, some fell on the ground, and all were so much confounded at the sight of men, whose power, in their opinion, so nearly resembled the gods, that Cortes with difficulty composed them. The ingenuity of the painters was put to the test, to invent figures and characters to represent things so new and extraordinary. Messengers were

immediately dispatched to Montezuma with those pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards; and by them Cortes sent a present of some European curiosities to Montezuma.

339. The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all parts of their vast empire, had posted couriers, or runners at different stations, along the principal roads, who relieved one another at proper distances; by which method they conveyed intelligence with surprising rapidity.

340. Though the capital of Montezuma was one hundred and eighty miles from St. Julian de Uloa, the presents of Cortes were carried thither, and an answer received to his demands in a few days. The same officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards, were employed to deliver this answer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their master was to the wishes of the Spanish commander, they would not venture to make it known until they had first endeavored to soothe and mollify him. They therefore renewed the negotiation by introducing a train of a hundred Indians loaded with presents, sent him by Montezuma.

341. The magnificence of these presents exceeded any the Spaniards had yet received, and raised ideas of the wealth of the country, and grandeur of the monarch. They were placed upon mats on the ground in a manner that showed them to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his followers viewed, with admiration, the various manufactures of the country; the cotton stuffs were of so fine a texture, as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colors, were disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance as to rival the works of the pencil, in beauty of imitation. But what principally attracted their attention, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon; these were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold, with boxes of pearls, precious stones, and grains of unwrought gold. Cortes received these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch, by whom they were bestowed.

342. But when the Mexicans, presuming upon this, informed him that their master, though he desired him to accept of what he had sent, as expressive of his regard for the prince who had sent him; yet, at the same time informed him, that he would not give his consent that foreign troops

should approach nearer his capital ; or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions. Cortes declared, in a manner more peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand, as he could not, without dishonor, return to his own sovereign, until he had been permitted to visit the prince, agreeably to his instructions.

343. The Mexicans were astonished, that any man should dare to oppose that will which they were accustomed to consider as supreme and irresistible : yet afraid of coming to an open rupture with such formidable enemies, they prevailed with Cortes to continue in his present camp until further instructions were received from Montezuma.

344. The Mexican monarch had now no other choice, but either to receive Cortes as a friend, or oppose him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of such extensive powers ; his authority unbounded, and his revenues considerable.

345. If he had assembled his numerous forces, and fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren, unhealthy coast, without a single ally to support them, no place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, notwithstanding their superior discipline and arms, they must all have been cut off in such an unequal contest, or have abandoned the enterprise.

346. As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this spirited part, his own disposition naturally prompted him to it. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigor, but they were impressed with an opinion of his capacity, that commanded their respect : over the latter he had spread such fear by the success of his arms, that they dreaded his power, and groaned under his tyranny. Though his talents were sufficient for the government of a state, so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, they were altogether inadequate to the present conjuncture : he was neither qualified to judge with discernment, nor to act with the decision necessary in such a trying emergency.

347. From the first account of the Spaniards appearing on the coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment ; he deliberated with an anxiety which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure upon this occasion, and the general dismay that prevailed, was not altogether owing to the impression the Span-

iards had made by the novelty of their appearance, and the terror of their arms: there was an opinion, if the account of the most authentic Spanish historians deserve credit, and almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders, who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country.

348. As the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the New World, they were more deeply affected with the appearance of the Spaniards, whom they considered as the instruments destined to bring about the revolution which they so much dreaded. Under these circumstances it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire and all his subjects.

349. Notwithstanding, when Montezuma was informed that Cortes adhered to his original demand, and refused to obey his enjoining him to leave the country; in a transport of rage natural to a fierce prince, unaccustomed to opposition, he threatened to sacrifice those intruding strangers to the gods. But instead of issuing orders to put his threats into execution, he summoned his ministers to confer, and offer their advice.

350. The Mexican council were satisfied with issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but betraying such timidity and infatuation, that they accompanied this order with a present of such value, as proved a fresh inducement to remain there. A variety of sentiments prevailed among the Spaniards; from what they had already seen, many of them formed such extravagant ideas, concerning the opulence of the country, that despising every danger and hardship, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Others estimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, contended it would be an act of the wildest frenzy to attack such a state, with a small body of men, in want of provisions, unconnected with an ally, and already debilitated by diseases incident to the climate.

351. Cortes secretly encouraged and applauded the advocates for bold measures, and cherished their romantic hopes; as such ideas accorded with his own, and favored the execution of the bold schemes he had already formed. As Velasquez had openly attempted to deprive him of his authority, he saw the necessity of dissolving a connexion which would obstruct and embarrass all his operations; and watched for a proper opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him.

352. Having this in view, he assiduously labored to gain

and secure the esteem and affection of his soldiers, and availed himself of all opportunities to insinuate himself into their favor, by his affable manners : by well-timed acts of liberality to some, by inspiring all with vast hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives, he attached the greater part of the soldiers so firmly to himself, that they almost forgot the armament had been fitted out by the authority, and at the expense of another.

353. During these intrigues, Teutile arrived with the present from Montezuma ; and, together with it, delivered the ultimate order of that monarch to depart instantly out of his dominions : when Cortes, instead of complying, renewed his request of an audience, the Mexican turned from him abruptly, and quitted the camp, with looks and gestures which strongly expressed his surprise and resentment. Next morning, the natives, who used to frequent the camp, to barter with the soldiers, and bring provisions, absented ; all friendly correspondence seemed now to be at an end, and it was expected every moment that hostilities would commence.

354. Although this might have been foreseen, yet it occasioned a sudden consternation among the Spaniards, which emboldened the adherents of Velasquez not only to murmur and cabal against their general, but to appoint one of their number to remonstrate openly against his imprudence in attempting the conquest of a mighty empire with such inadequate force : and they urged the necessity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet, and augment their army.

355. Diego de Ordaz, one of his principal officers, who was charged with this commission, delivered it with soldierly freedom, assuring him that he spoke the sentiments of the whole army. Cortes heard him without any appearance of emotion. As he well knew the temper and wishes of his soldiers, he carried his dissimulation so far as to seem to relinquish his own measures, in compliance with the request of Ordaz, and issued orders that the army should be ready to embark the next day for Cuba.

356. No sooner was this known, than the disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened ; the emissaries of Cortes mingling with them inflamed their rage ; the ferment became general : the whole camp was almost in open mutiny : all demanding with eagerness to see their commander. Cortes was not slow in appearing ; when with one voice they expressed their astonishment and indignation at the orders which they had received. " It was unworthy," they cried, " of the Cas-

tilian courage, to be daunted at the first aspect of danger, and infamous to fly before an enemy appeared. For their part, they were determined not to relinquish the enterprise; that they were happy under his command, and would follow him with alacrity through every danger: but if he chose to return to Cuba, and tamely give up all hopes of distinction and opulence to an envious rival, they would instantly choose another general to conduct them in that path of glory, which he had not spirit to enter."

357. Cortes, delighted with their ardor, took no offence at the boldness with which it was uttered; the sentiments were what he himself had inspired; and he was now satisfied that they had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected, however, to be surprised at what he heard, declaring that his order to prepare for embarking was issued from a persuasion that it was agreeable to his troops; and from deference to what, he had been informed, was their inclination, he had sacrificed his own private opinion, which was firmly bent on immediately establishing a settlement on the sea-coast, and then on endeavoring to penetrate into the interior of the country: but as he now perceived they were animated with the generous spirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would resume with fresh ardor his original plan of operations: not doubting he should be able to conduct them, in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valor merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified their excess of joy.

358. Notwithstanding there appeared to be an unanimous consent to this measure, there were those in the interest of Velasquez who secretly condemned it, but they were obliged to stifle their real sentiments, to avoid the appearance of disaffection to their general, as well as the imputation of cowardice from their fellow-soldiers. In order to give a beginning to the colony, he assembled the principal persons in his army, and by their suffrage elected a council and magistrates, in whom the government was to be vested. The magistrates were distinguished by the names and ensigns of office. All the persons chosen were firmly devoted to Cortes, and the instrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependence upon Velasquez. The name which Cortes bestowed on the intended settlement was *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, that is, the *Rich Town of the True Cross*.

359. The first act of importance decided by the new council, was the appointment of Cortes to the supreme jurisdiction, both civil and military, over the colony. The soldiers, with

eager applause, ratified the choice ; and the air resounded with the name of Cortes.

360. He now began to assume greater dignity, and exercise more extensive powers : formerly he acted only as the deputy of a subject ; but now as the representative of his sovereign. The adherents of Velasquez could no longer continue silent and passive spectators of his actions. They openly exclaimed against the proceedings of the council as illegal, and against those of the army as mutinous. Cortes instantly perceived the necessity of giving a timely check to such seditious discourses, by some prompt and vigorous measures ; he arrested Ordaz, Escudero, and Velasquez de Leon, the ringleaders of the faction, and sent them as prisoners on board the fleet, loaded with chains.

361. Their dependants, astonished and overawed, remained quiet, and Cortes, more desirous to reclaim than punish his prisoners, who were officers of great merit, courted their friendship with such assiduity and address, that the reconciliation was perfectly cordial ; and never after, on the most trying occasions, did they attempt to swerve from their attachment to his interest.

362. Cortes having now rendered the union between himself and his army indissoluble, thought he might quit the camp, in which he had hitherto remained, and advance into the country. To this he was encouraged by an event both fortunate and seasonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a mysterious manner, were conducted into his presence. These were deputies sent by the cazique of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance. By them he learned that their master, though a subject of Montezuma, was impatient of the yoke, and that nothing could be more acceptable to him than a deliverance from the oppression under which they groaned.

363. On hearing this, a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He saw that the great empire he was about to attack was not united, nor the sovereign beloved. He concluded that the cause of disaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other parts there must be malcontents, who, being weary of subjection, and desirous of change, would be ready to follow the standard of any protector. Full of these ideas, he gave a most gracious reception to the Zempoallans, and promised soon to visit their cazique.

364. To perform this promise, it was not necessary to alter the route he had already fixed for his march. Some officers, whom he had employed to survey the coast, discovered a vil-

lage named Quiabislan, about forty miles to the northward, which on account of the fertility of the soil, and commodiousness of the harbor, seemed to be a more proper station for a settlement, than where he was encamped. Cortes upon this information was determined to remove thither. Zempoalla lay in his way, where the cazique received him with gifts, and caresses, and with a respect approaching almost to adoration.

365. From him he learned many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumstances that rendered his dominion odious. The cazique told him with tears, he was a tyrant; haughty, cruel, and suspicious; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by exactions, and tore their sons and daughters from them by violence: the former to be offered as victims to his gods; the latter, to be reserved as concubines for himself and his favorites. Cortes in reply artfully insinuated that one of the great objects that induced the Spaniards to visit a country so distant from their own, was to redress grievances, and relieve the oppressed.

366. Having thus encouraged the cazique to hope for his protection, he continued his march to Quiabislan, where he marked out ground for a town; the dwellings to be erected were only huts; but they were to be surrounded with fortifications. Every man in the army, officers and soldiers, put their hands to the work; Cortes himself setting the example. The Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabislan, lent their assistance; and this petty station, the parent of so many great settlements, was soon in a state of defence.

367. While they were engaged in this necessary work, Cortes had several interviews with the caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabislan, who had such a high opinion of the Spaniards, as to consider them a superior order of beings: and, encouraged by the promises of Cortes, they ventured to insult the Mexican power; at the very name of which, they were accustomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the usual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation of their guilt, in presuming to hold a correspondence with those strangers, whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions;—instead of obeying the order, they made those officers prisoners, treated them with great indignity, and threatened to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger they were delivered by Cortes, who testified the utmost abhorrence at the bare mention of such a barbarous deed.

368. The two caziques, having now committed an act of

open rebellion, there appeared no hope of safety for them, but by attaching themselves inviolably to the Spaniards. They soon completed their union, by acknowledging themselves subjects of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by the Totonagues, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous part of the country; and who offered to accompany Cortes, with all their forces, in his march towards Mexico.

369. Cortes, before he began his march from Zempoalla, resolved upon an expedient which has no parallel in history: he had the address to persuade his soldiers, that it would be an important benefit to destroy the fleet, and not allow the idea of a retreat to enter their thoughts; but fix their eyes and wishes on what was before them;—and by this means he diverted them from being inflamed by a mutinous spirit, which had, at sundry times, made its appearance, instigated by the partisans of Velasquez. With universal consent the ships were drawn ashore; and, after stripping them of their rigging and iron-work, they were taken to pieces. Thus, from a magnanimous effort, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, inhabited by powerful and unknown inhabitants; and left without any other resource than their own valor and perseverance.

370. Cortes began his march from Zempoalla, on the sixteenth of August, 1519, with five hundred infantry, fifteen cavalry, and six field-pieces. The rest of the troops, consisting of those who, from age and infirmity, were unfit for actual service, he left as a garrison at Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interest. The cazique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred of those Indians, called Tame-mes, whose office it was to carry burdens, and perform all servile labor. These were a great relief to the Spanish soldiers, as they not only eased them of their baggage, but also dragged along the artillery by manual force. The cazique offered a considerable body of his troops, but Cortes was satisfied with four hundred, taking care to choose such persons, as might prove hostages for the fidelity of their master.

371. No material occurrence happened, until they arrived on the confines of Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province were a warlike people, and although they were implacable enemies of Montezuma, and had maintained an obstinate and successful contest against him, were not inclined to admit these formidable strangers into their territory. Cortes had hoped that their enmity to the Mexicans, and the example of their

ancient allies, the Zempoallans, might induce them to give him a friendly reception.

372. In order to dispose them to do so, four Zempoallans, of great eminence, were sent as ambassadors, to request, in Cortes' name, and in that of their cazique, that they would permit the Spaniards to pass through their country, on their way to Mexico. But instead of a favorable answer, which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time, they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders, if they should attempt to make their passage good, by the force of arms.

373. Unaccustomed to any intercourse with foreigners, they were apt to consider every stranger as an enemy; and upon the least suspicion of hostility were easily excited to arms. They concluded from Cortes' proposal of visiting Montezuma, in his capital, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary, that he courted the friendship of that monarch, whom they hated and feared. The Spaniards, from the smallness of their number, were objects of contempt; not having any idea of the superiority which they derived from their arms and discipline.

374. Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, the return of the ambassadors, advanced into the territory of the Tlascalans. As the resolutions of a people who delight in war, are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops ready, in the field, to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity; and in the first encounter wounded some of the Spaniards, and killed two horses; a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of the courage of his new enemies, Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose his stations, where he halted, with attention, and fortified his camp with great care.

375. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults; the Tlascalans advancing with numerous armies, and renewing the attack in various forms, with that valor and perseverance, to which the Spaniards had seen no parallel in the New World. But the account of battles must appear uninteresting when there is no equality of danger; and when the narrative closes with an account of thousands slain on one side, and that not a single person falls on the other.

376. The Spanish historians relate these combats with great pomp, and intermix incredible events; but they cease to command attention, when there was so great a disproportion between the parties. There were some circumstances, however, that merit notice, as they display the character of the natives, and of their conquerors. Though the Tlascalans brought into the field such vast armies as appeared sufficient to have overwhelmed the Spaniards, yet they were never able to make any impression upon their small battalion.

377. This is easily explained: though inured to war, like all the other inhabitants of the New World, they were unacquainted with military order and discipline, and lost the advantage which they might have gained from their numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, by their constant solicitude to carry off their dead and wounded: this was a point of honor with them, founded on a sentiment of tenderness natural to the human mind, strengthened by an anxiety to preserve the bodies of their countrymen from being devoured by their enemies.

378. Attention to this pious office occupied them during the heat of combat, broke their union, and lessened the force of the impression which they might have made by a joint effort. The imperfection of their offensive weapons rendered their valor of little avail. After three battles, and many skirmishes and assaults, not one Spaniard was slain. Arrows and spears headed with flint or the bones of fishes, and wooden swords, though destructive weapons among naked Indians, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the quilted jackets worn by the soldiers.

379. Though the Tlascalans attacked the Spaniards with fury, yet they seemed to be actuated by a barbarous generosity. They gave the Spaniards notice of their hostile intentions; and as they knew they wanted provisions, and imagined, like other Americans, that they had left their own country because it did not afford them subsistence, they sent to their camp a large supply of poultry and maize, desiring them to eat plentifully, because they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger; as it would also be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed upon such emaciated prey.

380. After the first onset, finding they could not put this threat into execution, and that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their valor, not one Spaniard was slain, they began to alter their opinion, and concluded their foes were a superior order of beings, against whom all human power could not

prevail. In this extremity they consulted their priests, who, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this answer: "That as the strangers were the offspring of the sun, they were invincible only when cherished by his beams: but that at night, when his warming influence was withdrawn, they became like other men, and were easily subdued." Opinions less plausible have gained credit with more enlightened nations.

381. In consequence of this, the Tlascalans acted in contradiction to one of their established maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy in the night, in hopes of destroying them, when weak, and off their guard. But Cortes had more discernment than to be surprised or deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at the out-posts, observing an uncommon movement in the Indian army, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and sallying out, dispersed them with great slaughter, without allowing them to approach the camp.

382. Convinced by sad experience their priests had misled them, and satisfied that it was in vain to attempt to deceive or vanquish such powerful enemies, their fierceness began to abate, and they were seriously inclined to peace. They were, however, at a loss in what manner they should address the strangers; what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct that seemed to favor each opinion. The Spaniards had constantly dismissed their prisoners with presents of European toys.

383. This appeared extraordinary to men who were used to carry on an exterminating war, and who sacrificed and devoured, without mercy, their captives taken in battle. On the other hand, Cortes had cut off the hands of fifty of the natives who came to the camp with provisions, and whom he took to be spies. This contrariety of conduct occasioned that doubt and uncertainty which appeared in their address: "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood, and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is bread and fruit to nourish you." The peace was soon concluded; the Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to protect their persons and property from injury and violence.

384. The profound veneration of the Tlascalans, encour-

aged Cortes to insist upon their abandoning their own superstition, and embrace the Catholic faith. They were willing to acknowledge the truth and excellence of what he taught, but contended that their gods were divinities no less deserving of adoration, than those of the Spaniards; and earnestly requested him not to urge them further upon a subject with which they could not yield a compliance.

385. Cortes, enraged at their obstinacy, was preparing to effect by force what he could not accomplish by persuasion; and would have overturned their altars and thrown down their idols, if father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not checked his inconsiderate impetuosity. He represented the imprudence of such an attempt; and that religion was not to be propagated by the sword, nor infidels to be converted by violence; that other weapons were to be employed in their ministry, that patient instruction must enlighten the understanding, and pious example captivate the heart, before men could be brought to embrace the great truths of the Christian religion.

386. That a monk in the sixteenth century, when the idea of toleration was unknown, and when the rights of conscience were little understood, should be among the first advocates against persecution, and appear in behalf of religious liberty, is really astonishing, and the mind is soothed with unexpected pleasure, to find such humane and liberal sentiments avowed in those dark ages of superstition.

387. The remonstrances of Olmedo had their proper weight with Cortes: he left the Tlascalans to the undisturbed exercise of their own rites, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice. Cortes, as soon as the troops were fit for service, resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasive of the Tlascalans, who represented Montezuma as a faithless and cruel prince, who waited for an opportunity to destroy him.

388. Accompanied by six thousand Tlascalans, they, on the thirteenth of October, 1519, directed their course toward Cholula; Montezuma, who had at length consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Cholula was a considerable town, and though only five leagues distant from Tlascala, was formerly an independent state; but had lately been subjected to the Mexican empire.

389. This was considered by all the natives as a holy place,

the sanctuary of their gods, to which devotees resorted from every province, and a greater number of human victims were offered in its temple, than in that of Mexico. It was strongly suspected that Montezuma cherished a superstitious hope, that the gods would there revenge the insults with which the Spaniards everywhere treated them, or that he might have a greater certainty of success, as being under the protection of his gods. The event showed these suspicions were not ill founded.

390. Cortes, who had been warned by the Tlascalans to keep a watchful eye upon the Cholulans, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, soon observed several circumstances in their conduct, which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, and who were not admitted by their ancient enemies within their precincts, found means to enter in disguise, and informed Cortes that they observed the children of the principal citizens retiring in great haste every night, and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple; a rite that indicated the execution of some warlike enterprise was soon to be undertaken.

391. At the same time, Marina the interpreter, received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that some of the streets were barricadoed, and in others, pits and deep trenches were dug and slightly covered over, into which the horse might fall; that stones and missile weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable.

392. Cortes, alarmed at this concurring evidence, secretly arrested three of the chief priests; from these he extorted a confession that confirmed the intelligence he had received. He therefore instantly resolved to prevent his enemies from effecting their designs, and to inflict such an exemplary vengeance, as would strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror.

393. The Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large square, which had been allotted them for quarters, near the centre of the town: the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and chief citizens were sent for under various pretexts, seized and confined. On a signal given, the troops rushed out, and fell upon the multitude who were destitute of leaders, and so much astonished, that the weapons fell from their hands, while they stood motionless, incapable of defence.

As the Spaniards pressed them in front, the Tlascalans attacked them in the rear. The streets were filled with bloodshed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests and some of the leading natives, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days; at length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard.

394. Cortes then released the magistrates, reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery; declaring that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offence; but required them to recall the citizens who had fled, and restore order in the town. Such was the ascendancy which the Spaniards had acquired over these superstitious people, and so deeply were they impressed with an opinion that they were more than mortals, that they immediately obeyed the command.

395. The city was in a few days re peopled, who, amidst the ruin of their sacred buildings, yielded respectful service to the men who had imbrued their hands in the blood of their relations and friends. From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico, which was only sixty miles distant. As they passed through the country, the soldiers were greatly animated; for, descending from the mountains of Chalco, across which the road lay, the vast plain of Mexico opened to their view.

396. When they first beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth, when they observed fertile and cultivated fields, stretching farther than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets, the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some were induced to believe the fanciful descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight: others could hardly be persuaded that this wonderful spectacle was any thing more than a dream.

397. As they advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich, beyond what they had conceived; and flattered themselves that they should soon obtain an ample reward for all their services and sufferings.

398. As they approached near the city, several circumstances occurred which made them suspect that some design was formed to surprise and cut them off. No enemy, however, appeared; several messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next

to retire, as his hopes and fears alternately prevailed; and, so strange was this infatuation, that Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy.

399. The Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuation of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march along the causeway that led to the city, through the lake, with great caution, and the strictest discipline,—though without betraying any symptoms of distrust of the prince, whom they were about to visit.

400. When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in garments of fine cotton. Each of these, in his order, passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode practised in that country: expressing the utmost respect and submission: they announced the approach of Montezuma himself; and soon after his harbingers came in sight.

401. There appeared first, two hundred persons in an uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two in deep silence, and barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel; in the midst of these was Montezuma, in a chair, or litter, richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colors; others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head, and four of his principal favorites carried him on their shoulders. Before him marched three officers, with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up at certain intervals: at which signal, all the people bowed their heads and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch.

402. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted; and, with great appearance of respect, saluted him in the European manner. At the same time, Montezuma descended from his chair, and leaning on the arms of two of his nearest relations, approached with a slow and stately pace: his attendants covering the streets with cotton-cloths, that he might not touch the ground. He returned the salutation of Cortes, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. By this condescension of Montezuma, his subjects firmly believed that those persons, before whom he had humbled himself, were more than human.

403. This was afterwards confirmed as they marched through the crowd; the natives, to the great satisfaction of the

Spaniards, being frequently heard to call them *Teules*, or divinities. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception; and immediately took leave of him with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," said he, "with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allotted to the Spaniards, by Montezuma, was a house built by the father of Montezuma: it was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as ornament; and was so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies.

404. The first care of Cortes was to put the place in a posture of defence: he planted the artillery at every avenue which led to it: he appointed a large division of his troops to be always on guard; and posted sentinels at proper distances, with orders to observe the same vigilance, as if they were in sight of an enemy's camp.

405. In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests, with the same pomp as at their first interview; and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch, and the opulence of the kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma, with respect to the Spaniards.

406. He told him, that it was an established opinion among the Mexicans, handed down to them by tradition, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces that were now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted them, returned to his own country; and promised, that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; and that from what he had seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced they were the very persons their traditions and prophecies had taught them to expect; and that he received them, accordingly, as relations of the same blood and parentage; and desired them to consider themselves as masters in his dominions: for both himself and subjects should be ready to comply with their will.

407. Cortes replied in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intentions in sending him into that country: artfully framing his discourse so as to coincide with the idea which Montezuma had formed con-

cerning the original of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which filled them with surprise and admiration.

408. Mexico, Tenuchtitlan, as it was anciently called by the natives, is situated in a large plain surrounded by mountains of such height, that though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful; all the moisture which descends from the high grounds is collected in several lakes: the two largest of which, about ninety miles in circumference, communicate with each other; the waters of one are fresh, the other brackish: on the banks of the latter the capital of Montezuma's empire was built. The access to the city was by artificial causeways or streets, formed of stones or earth about thirty feet in breadth. On the east was no causeway, and the city could only be approached by canoes.

409. Not only the temples of their gods, but the houses of the monarch, and those of persons of distinction, in comparison with any other buildings which the Spaniards had seen in America, might be termed magnificent. But though the novelty of those objects might amuse or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. They were now lodged in the capital, in which they reckoned there were at least sixty thousand inhabitants: shut up, as it were, in a snare, from which it seemed impossible to escape; they were moreover assured by the Tlascalans, that Mexican priests had counselled their sovereign to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that they might cut them off at one blow with perfect security.

410. Although Montezuma had received them with distinguished respect, they had reason to doubt his sincerity: yet even if they could suppose it to be real, they could not depend upon it: as an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered in passion, might irrevocably determine their fate. These reflections made a very deep impression upon the mind of Cortes.

411. Before he set out from Cholula, he had received advices from Villa Rica, that Qualpopoca, one of the Mexican generals, had assembled an army in order to attack some of the people, whom the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke:—Escalante having marched out with part of the garrison, to succor his allies, himself, and seven of his men, had been mortally wounded; that one Spaniard had been

surrounded and taken alive; his head cut off; sent in triumph to the different cities, and last to Mexico, to convince the people their invaders were not invulnerable.

412. Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hostile intentions, had nevertheless continued his march. But as soon as he entered Mexico, he became sensible that he had pushed forwards into a situation where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Disgrace, and perhaps death, would be the certain consequence of the latter.

413. The success of the enterprise depended upon supporting that high opinion which the natives had formed with respect to the irresistible power of his arms; upon the first appearance of timidity on his part, their veneration would cease, and Montezuma would be encouraged to let loose upon him the whole forces of his empire.

414. His situation was trying, but his mind was equal to it; and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he resolved upon a measure, the boldest and most daring that ever entered into the mind of man; which was no less than to seize Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid startled at a measure so audacious: the more intelligent and resolute warmly approved of it; conscious that it was the only resource in which there was any prospect of safety, and brought over their companions so cordially to be of the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davilla, five of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers.

415. Thirty chosen men followed; not in regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if their only object was curiosity; other small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the palace, and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalan allies, were under arms, ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his companions were admitted without suspicion, the Mexican attendants retiring out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had formerly been accustomed to do, reproaching him bitterly, as the author of the violent assault, made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loss he had sustained, by the death of some of his companions, as well as

for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were.

416. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing color, either from consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness; and as a proof of it, instantly gave orders to bring Qualpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt on his mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbor hostile intentions against them, unless, as a proof of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honored as became a great monarch.

417. This strange proposition at first bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost of motion. At length indignation gave him utterance; and he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavored by turns to intimidate and soothe him. The altercation became warm, and having continued three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, impatiently exclaimed, "Why waste more time in vain? let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. He was sensible the Spaniards had now proceeded too far to hope they would recede.

418. His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and abandoning himself to his fate complied with their request. His officers were called: he communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters.

419. When it became publicly known that the strangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildest excesses of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction for their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared with a seeming gaiety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be his own choice that he went to

reside for a short time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

420. Thus this powerful prince, at noon-day, in the midst of his capital, was seized and carried off a prisoner, by a few strangers. When we consider the temerity of the attempt, and its successful execution, we can, with propriety, assert there is nothing in history parallel to it : and were it not authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, the whole narration would appear so wild and extravagant, as to go beyond the bounds of that verisimilitude which must be preserved even in fictitious narrations.

421. Montezuma was received at the Spanish quarters with great ceremonious respect. He was attended by his own domestics. His principal officers had free access to him, and carried on all the functions of government, as if he had been at perfect liberty. He was, nevertheless, watched with all the scrupulous vigilance requisite in guarding such an important prize : from captive princes, the hour of humiliation and suffering is not far distant. Qualpopoca and his son, with five of the principal officers who had served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital, by order of Montezuma, and given up to Cortes : they were tried by a Spanish court-martial ; and condemned to be burned at a stake ; though they acted as brave and loyal subjects in obeying the orders of their sovereign, and in opposing the invaders of their country.

422. The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defence. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, this new insult offered to the majesty of their empire : an officer of distinction committed to the flames, by the authority of strangers, for having done that duty he owed to his sovereign : and the arms provided by their ancestors for avenging such wrongs, consumed before their eyes.

423. Cortes, convinced that Qualpopoca would not have ventured to attack Escalante without orders from his master, was not satisfied with the punishment of the instrument, while the author escaped with impunity. Just before Qualpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by some of his officers, and a soldier carrying a pair of fetters ; and approaching the monarch with a stern countenance, told him, that the persons who were now going to suffer, had charged their sovereign as the cause of the outrage

that was committed ; and it was necessary that he likewise should make atonement for that guilt ; without waiting for a reply, he commanded his soldiers to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly obeyed.

424. The monarch, who had been accustomed to have his person acknowledged as sacred and inviolable, considering this profanation of it as a prelude to his death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants fell at his feet, and bathed them with their tears, bearing up the fetters in their hands with officious tenderness, to lighten their pressure.

425. When Cortes returned from the execution, he appeared with a cheerful countenance ; and ordered the fetters to be taken off. As Montezuma's spirits had sunk with unmanly dejection, they now rose to indecent exultation, and he passed at once from the anguish of despair, to transports of joy and fondness towards his deliverers. The spirits of Montezuma were now subdued. Cortes availed himself to the utmost of the power he had acquired over him.

426. Several Spaniards were afterwards sent in company with some Mexicans of distinction, as guides and protectors, to explore the different parts of the empire. While they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name of Montezuma, degraded some of the principal officers, whose abilities and independent spirit had excited his jealousy ; and substituted in their places others more obsequious to his will.

427. There was yet wanting one thing to complete his security : he wished to have command of the lake, that he might insure a retreat, should the Mexicans take arms against him. This Montezuma enabled him to accomplish. Cortes had given him a pompous description of those floating palaces that move on the water, without the aid of oars. Having thus excited Montezuma's curiosity, and under pretence of gratifying him, he persuaded the monarch to appoint some of his subjects to convey his naval stores from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and employed others in cutting timber : with this assistance, the Spanish carpenters soon completed two brigantines which were considered by Cortes as a certain resource, if a retreat should be necessary.

428. This tame submission to his will, encouraged Cortes to put it to a proof still more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassel of the king of Castile, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition Montezuma was so obsequious as to comply. The chief men of the empire being called together, he,

with great solemnity, reminded them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people, sprung from the same stock as themselves, in order to take the supreme power into their own hands; he declared his belief, that the Spaniards were this promised race; and therefore he acknowledged their monarch as possessing the right to govern the Mexican empire; that he would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary.

429. While Montezuma uttered these words, tears and groans interrupted his utterance; he still retained such a sense of dignity, as to feel that pang which touches the heart of princes, when constrained to resign independent power. The assembly were struck with astonishment, and a sullen murmur indicated their surprise and indignation; and threatened some violent eruption of rage to be near at hand. Cortes foreseeing this, seasonably interposed to prevent it, by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of his authority or royal dignity; or to make any alteration in the laws or constitution of the Mexican empire; this assurance, and the monarch's example, together with their dread of the Spanish power, extorted a reluctant consent from the assembly.

430. This act of submission and homage, was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe. Montezuma, at the instigation of Cortes, accompanied this submission with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and his subjects, stimulated by his example, brought in very liberal contributions.

431. But however pliant Montezuma might be in other matters, he was inflexible with respect to his religion. Though Cortes often urged him with the zeal of a missionary to renounce his false gods, and embrace the Catholic faith, he always rejected the proposition with horror. Cortes was so enraged at his obstinacy that, in a transport of zeal, he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the great temple by force. But the priests and people taking arms in defence of their altars, the zeal of Cortes was overruled by prudence, and he was induced to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing the image of the Virgin in its place.

432. From that moment the Mexicans began to meditate how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards, and believed themselves called upon to avenge the insult offered to their gods. The priests and leading men held frequent consultations with Montezuma for this purpose. But as it might prove fatal to the

captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed that now, "as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people were unanimous in their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire." With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads.

433. The tenor of this unexpected requisition, as well as the determined tone in which it was uttered, left Cortes no room to doubt, that it was the result of some deep-laid scheme concerted between Montezuma and his subjects. He coolly replied, "He had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as the vessels in which he came were destroyed, some time was requisite for building other ships."

434. This appearing reasonable, a number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz, to cut down timber; and some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work. Cortes flattered himself that during this interval, he should receive such reinforcements, as would enable him to despise every danger.

435. Nine months had now elapsed since Portocarrero and Montejo had sailed with his dispatches to Spain; he daily expected their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king; without this his condition was insecure and precarious.

436. While he remained in this suspense, uncertain with respect to the future, and by the late declaration of Montezuma, oppressed with a new addition of cares, a Mexican courier informed him of some ships having appeared on the coast. Cortes, elated with this intelligence, imagined they were reinforcements arrived to strengthen and forward his conquests: and that the completion of all his wishes and hopes was at hand: he imparted the glad tidings to his companions, who received them with transports of mutual congratulation. Their joy was short; a message from Sandoval, whom Cortes had made governor of Vera Cruz in the room of Escalante, brought certain intelligence that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez governor of Cuba, and threatened them with immediate destruction.

437. The armament consisted of eighteen ships, which had on board fourscore horsemen, eight hundred foot-soldiers, of whom eighty were musketeers, and a hundred and twenty cross-bow men, together with a train of twelve pieces of can-

non. This force was commanded by Pamfilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers; send them prisoners to Cuba, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in Velasquez' name.

438. Narvaez had landed his men without opposition, near St. Juan de Ulloa. Three soldiers, whom Cortes had sent to search for mines, deserted and joined Narvaez: by them he was informed of the progress and situation of Cortes; and as they had learned the Mexican language, were the more acceptable, as they would serve as interpreters. Narvaez having sent a summons to the governor of Vera Cruz, to surrender, Guavara, a priest, whom he employed in that service, made the demand with such insolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high spirit, and zealously attached to Cortes, instead of complying with his terms, seized him, and his officers, and sent them prisoners in chains to Mexico.

439. Cortes received them not as enemies, but as friends, condemning the severity of Sandoval, set them immediately at liberty. By this well-timed clemency, seconded by caresses and presents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them such particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave a view of the impending danger, in its fullest extent.

440. He had now to take the field against an army in courage and martial discipline equal to his own; in number far superior, commanded by an officer of known bravery. Narvaez, more solicitous to gratify the resentment of Velasquez, than attentive to the honor and interest of his country, had represented Cortes and his followers, to the natives, as fugitives and rebels, who had unjustly invaded the Mexican empire; and that his sole object was to punish the Spaniards, and rescue them from their oppression. The same unfavorable representations had been conveyed to Montezuma.

441. Animated with the prospect of being set free from subjection to strangers, the provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes; and regarded Narvaez as their deliverer. Montezuma kept up a secret intercourse with the new commander, and courted his favor.

442. Such were the dangers and difficulties which presented themselves to the view of Cortes. No situation could be more trying. If he should abandon the capital, and set the captive monarch at liberty, and march out to meet the enemy, he must at once give up all the fruits of his toils and victory, and relinquish advantages which could not be recovered without in-

finite danger. The natural haughtiness of Narvaez precluded all hopes of succeeding by conciliatory measures.

443. After revolving every scheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed on that which was the most hazardous, but if successful, would be most honorable and beneficial to himself and his country. With decisive intrepidity he, in this desperate situation, determined to make one bold effort for victory under every disadvantage, rather than sacrifice his own conquests, and the Spanish interests in Mexico. But as it would have been impolitic to advance in arms against his countrymen, without first attempting to adjust matters by an amicable negotiation; he employed his chaplain, Olmedo, in this service, to whose character the function was well suited, and who was possessed of such prudence and address as qualified him for such affairs; in him Cortes placed his chief confidence.

444. All terms of accommodation were rejected with scorn by Narvaez, who, by a public proclamation, denounced Cortes and his companions rebels and enemies to their country. The intrigues of Olmedo were more successful: he had letters to deliver from Cortes and his officers, to their ancient friends and companions: these were accompanied with presents of rings and chains of gold, which inspired those needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth he had acquired, and envy of the good fortune of those who were engaged in his service.

445. They declared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes; but Narvaez, upon discovering the inclinations of the army towards an accommodation, became irritated almost to madness. In a transport of rage, he set a price upon the head of Cortes, and his principal officers; and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Zempoalla with his small body of men, he considered this such an insult, as merited immediate chastisement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle.

446. Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than to fight an enemy so far superior in number on equal ground. Having stationed his army on the opposite bank of the river de Canoas, where he was safe from any attack, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and disregarded his vain bravado. The wet season had set in, and the rain had poured down during a great part of the day, with a violence peculiar to the Torrid Zone.

447. The followers of Narvaez, unaccustomed to the severity of a military life, murmured at being thus fruitlessly exposed: this, together with the contempt he had for his enemy, in-

duced him to permit them to retire to Zempoalla. The very circumstance that made Narvaez quit the field, encouraged Cortes to form a scheme by which he hoped at once to terminate the war.

448. His hardy veterans, though standing under the torrents, without a single tent, or any shelter to cover them, were so far from repining at hardships which were become familiar to them, that they were still fresh and alert for service. He knew that the enemy would give themselves up to repose after their fatigue, and deem themselves perfectly secure at a season so unfit for action. He resolved therefore to surprise them by an unexpected attack in the night. His soldiers, knowing that there was no resource but in some desperate effort of courage, approved of the measure with such warmth, that Cortes in an oration which he delivered to them was more careful to temper, than to inflame their ardor.

449. He divided them into three parties: Sandoval commanded the first; this gallant officer was intrusted with the most dangerous and important service, that of seizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal towers of the temple, where Narvaez had fixed his head-quarters. Christoval de Olid commanded the second, with orders to assault the tower and lay hold on the general. Cortes himself conducted the last and smallest division, which was to act as a body of reserve, and to support the other two as there should be occasion.

450. Having passed the river de Canoas, which was so swelled with the rains, that the water reached their chins, they advanced in profound silence, each man armed with his sword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan spear. Narvaez, remiss in proportion to his security, had posted only two sentinels to watch the motions of an enemy, whom he had such good cause to dread. One of these was seized by the advance guard of Cortes' troops, the other made his escape, and hurrying to the town, spread the alarm of the enemy's approach, so that there was full time to prepare for their reception. But through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, the important interval was lost. He charged the sentinel with cowardice, and treated with derision the idea of being attacked by forces so unequal to his own. The shouts of Cortes' soldiers, however, convinced him at last of his mistake.

451. The rapidity with which they advanced was such that they fired but one cannon, before Sandoval's party closed with them, drove them from their guns, and had begun to force their

way up the steps of the tower. Narvaez, as brave in action as presumptuous in conduct, armed himself in haste, and by his voice and example endeavored to animate his men to the combat. Olid advanced to sustain his companions; and Cortes himself, rushing to the front, conducted and added new vigor to the attack. The compact order of this small body, and the impenetrable front they presented with their long spears, bore down all opposition.

452. They had now reached the gate, and as they were endeavoring to force it open, a soldier set fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, and forced Narvaez to sally out. In the first encounter, he was wounded in the eye with a spear, and falling to the ground, he was, in a moment, clapped in fetters.

453. The shout of victory resounded among the troops of Cortes. Those who had sallied out with their leader, feebly maintained the conflict, or began to surrender. Terror and confusion prevailed. Their own artillery was pointed against them; wherever they turned their eyes, they beheld with astonishment, lights gleaming through the obscurity of the night; which, although proceeding from what is now well known by the name of the firefly, which abounds in sultry climates, their affrighted imaginations, represented as numerous bands of musketeers, advancing with lighted matches to the attack. After a short resistance, the soldiers compelled their officers to capitulate; and before morning all had laid down their arms, and quietly submitted to their conquerors.

454. This complete victory was the more acceptable, as it was gained with little bloodshed; only two of the soldiers of Cortes being slain: as were also two officers and fifteen privates of the adverse party. Cortes treated the vanquished as friends; offered to send them immediately back to Cuba, or take them into his service, as partners of his fortune, and on the same terms as his own soldiers. They eagerly embraced the latter proposal, and vied with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general, who had given such a convincing proof of his abilities for command.

455. Cortes was now placed at the head of a thousand Spaniards, eager to follow wherever he should lead them. Doubly fortunate was this victory for Cortes, as he received intelligence, a few days afterwards, that the Mexicans had destroyed his brigantines, and had fallen upon the small party he had left with Alvarado; had reduced to ashes the magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities, with such fury, that

although the Spaniards defended themselves with uncommon bravery, yet without succor they must soon have been cut off by famine, or sink under the multitude of their enemies.

456. The Mexicans had flattered themselves that now, when their invaders were divided, was the time to deliver themselves from the odious dominion of strangers, and release their sovereign. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, had not that capacity and dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of the natives. Instead of employing address to disconcert the plan or soothe the spirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their solemn festivals, and when the principal persons of the empire were dancing in the court of the great temple, he seized all the avenues which led to it, and allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honor of their gods, partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of a conspiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unexpected, and massacred a great number, those only escaping who made their way over the battlements of the temple.

457. This treacherous and cruel action filled the city and the whole empire, with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the life or safety of the monarch, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy, who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes had received an account.

458. To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit of no delay. He set out instantly with all his forces. At Tlascala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed: no person of note appeared to meet him with the expected respect; no provision made for the subsistence of his troops, as usual; and though he was permitted to advance without opposition, solitude and silence reigned in every place; a deep-rooted antipathy had taken place, which excited the most just alarm.

459. Notwithstanding their enmity was become so implacable, they knew not how to take proper measures for their own safety, or the destruction of their enemies. Instead of breaking down the bridges and causeways, by which they might have inclosed Alvarado and his party, and stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march quietly; and on the twenty-fourth of June, 1520, he took peaceable possession of his former quarters.

460. The transports of joy, with which Alvarado received Cortes and his companions, cannot be described; but the general seemed to have forgotten that sagacity and caution, which had hitherto accompanied him. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but added expressions full of contempt for that prince and his people.

461. The forces of which he had now the command, appeared to him irresistible; so that he began to assume a higher tone, and lay aside the mask of moderation, under which he had hitherto concealed his designs. Some Mexicans, who understood the Spanish language, reported the contemptuous words and conduct of Cortes, to their countrymen, which renewed their rage. They resumed their arms, with additional fury, and attacked a body of Spaniards, as they were marching to the great square, where the public market was held; and compelled them to retire with loss. Delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day with extraordinary martial pomp, to assault the Spanish quarters.

462. Their number was formidable, and their courage great. Though the artillery was pointed against them, when they were crowded in narrow streets, and swept off multitudes at every discharge, their impetuosity did not abate. Their broken ranks were continually filled up with fresh men; these were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager on vengeance. The abilities and experience of Cortes, seconded by the disciplined valor of his troops, was hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications, into which the enemy were several times on the point of entering.

463. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was now requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally, with such a force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

464. He conducted in person the troops destined for this important enterprise. Every invention known at that time in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long experience in the Indian mode of fighting, were employed to insure success. The enemy he found ready prepared, and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly increased by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country. Led by their nobles, inflamed by their priests, and fighting in defence of their families, under

the eye, as they judged, of their gods, they made a desperate resistance, and fought with enthusiastic ardor, in contempt of danger and death. Wherever the Spaniards could close with them, the superiority of their arms and discipline obliged the natives to give way; but, in the narrow streets, and where the bridges of communication were broken down, they could seldom come to a fair encounter, and the Spaniards, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of houses.

465. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burned, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter, were at length disposed to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive, as to compensate for the loss of twelve soldiers killed, and sixteen wounded: another sally was made with greater force, but with no better success; and in it the general was wounded in the hand. Cortes perceived, when it was too late, his error in treating the Mexicans with contempt. He became sensible that he could neither maintain his present station in the city, or retire from it without imminent danger. There was, however, one resource left; Montezuma was still in his power.

466. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince was reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace: he advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At the sight of their sovereign, the weapons dropped from their hands, every tongue was silent, all bowed their heads, and many prostrated themselves on the ground. He tried to assuage their rage by every soothing argument; but when he had ended his discourse, a sullen murmur ran through the crowd; to this succeeded reproaches and threats; and their fury rising, in a moment, above every restraint and respect, flights of arrows and volleys of stones poured in so violently from the ramparts, that before the Spanish soldiers had time to shield Montezuma with their bucklers, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and a stone which struck him on the temple, brought him to the ground.

467. On seeing him fall, the Mexicans were so much astonished, that they passed in a moment from one extreme to another; remorse succeeded to insult, and they fled with terror, as if the vengeance of heaven was pursuing them for the crime which they had committed. The Spaniards, without molesta-

tion, carried Montezuma to his apartments; and Cortes hastened thither to console him under his affliction. But the haughty spirit of that unhappy monarch, which seemed to have been long extinct, returning, he seemed to survive this last humiliation, and protract a life of ignominy. In a transport of rage, he tore the bandages from his wounds, and obstinately refused to take any nourishment, that his wretched days might be soon ended: rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith.

468. The fate of Montezuma deprived Cortes of all hopes of bringing the Mexicans to any accommodation; and seeing no hopes of safety, but in attempting a retreat, he began to prepare for it. But a sudden motion of the Mexicans involved him in new difficulties. They took possession of a high tower of the great temple, which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there some of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons.

469. From this post, it was necessary, at every hazard, to dislodge them, and Juan de Escobar, with a numerous detachment of chosen soldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Escobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accustomed to conquer, was thrice repulsed. Cortes, sensible that the reputation and safety of his army depended upon this assault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and rushed with his drawn sword into the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with such vigor, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower.

470. There a dreadful carnage began; when two young Mexicans, of high rank, observing Cortes as he animated his soldiers by his voice and example, generously resolved to sacrifice their own lives, that they might cut off the author of all their calamities. They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they intended to lay down their arms; and seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along with them, to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, disengaged himself from the grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this unsuccessful attempt to save their country. The Spaniards, after they became masters of the tower, set fire to it, and without further molestation continued their preparations for their retreat.

471. The point to be determined upon was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, or whether they should retire secretly in the night. The latter was preferred. They began to move towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon conducted the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners; among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, together with several Mexicans of distinction; the artillery, baggage, and a portable bridge of timber, intended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They marched in profound silence along the causeway, which led to Tacuba. They reached the first breach in it without disturbance, hoping their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans had silently watched their motions, and had made proper dispositions for a formidable attack.

472. While the Spaniards were employed in placing their bridge, and conducting their horses and artillery along the causeway, they were suddenly alarmed with the tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of their enemies.

473. The lake was covered with canoes; and flights of arrows, and other missile weapons poured in from every quarter: the Mexicans rushing forward with fearless impetuosity. Unfortunately the wooden bridge was wedged, by the weight of the artillery, so fast into the stones and mud that it was impossible to remove it.

474. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced to the second breach with precipitation. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side; and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, crowded as they were, their military skill was of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive any great advantage from the use of their fire-arms, or the superiority of their other weapons.

475. All Mexico was now in arms, eager on the destruction of their oppressors. Those who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of delay, drove on their countrymen in front with irresistible violence. Other warriors instantly filled the place of those who fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all were engaged, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

476. Cortes, with about one hundred foot-soldiers, and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway: the bodies of the dead served to fill up the chasms, and he reached the main land. Having formed the men as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them by his presence and example, to persevere in attempting their escape. He met with part of his soldiers, who had broken through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake; and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war.

477. Before day, all who had escaped, assembled at Tacuba: but when the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered forces, reduced to less than half their number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had suffered, and the remembrance of so many faithful friends, and gallant men, who had fallen the preceding night, pierced his soul with such anguish, that while he was forming their ranks, and giving some necessary orders, the soldiers observed the tears trickle down his cheeks; and remarked with much satisfaction that while attentive to his duty as general, he was not insensible to the feelings of a man.

478. In this fatal retreat, many officers of distinction perished, and amongst these Velasquez de Leon, who had joined himself to Cortes, in opposition to the interest of his kinsman, the governor of Cuba, and who was respected as the second person in the army. All the artillery, baggage, and ammunition were lost, and, according to the best account, above six hundred of his own men, and two thousand Tlascalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure, they had amassed, was saved.

479. It was notwithstanding some consolation, that Aguilar and Marina had made their escape; their functions as interpreters, rendered them of essential service. The first care of Cortes was to find some shelter for his wearied troops; the people of Tacuba had begun to take arms, and the Mexicans continued to infest them on every side, so that he could no longer continue in his present station. He fortunately discovered a temple on a rising ground, which he took possession of; here he found the shelter he wanted, and also provisions to refresh his men.

480. During his stay here, he was engaged in deep consultation with his officers, concerning the route which they should take in their retreat. A Tlascalan soldier undertook to be their guide: Tlascala, the only place where they could hope to find a friendly reception, lay sixty-four miles to the east of Mexico; towards this place they shaped their course; they marched six days with little respite, and under continual alarms, through a country in some places marshy, and in others mountainous, numerous bodies of Mexicans hovering around them; sometimes harassing them at a distance, and sometimes attacking them openly in front, in rear, and in flank, with great boldness; as they were now convinced that they were not invincible.

481. These were not all the evils they had to undergo: the country through which they passed was barren, yielding but little provisions; they were therefore reduced to feed upon such berries and roots as they could find by the way. At the very time when famine was depressing their spirits, and wasting their strength, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. One circumstance animated the Spaniards; their commander sustained the sad reverse of fortune with unshaken magnanimity.

482. His presence of mind never forsook him; his sagacity saw and provided for every event; he was foremost in every danger, and endured every hardship with cheerfulness. The difficulties with which he was surrounded, seemed to call forth new talents; and his soldiers, though despairing themselves, continued to follow him with increasing confidence in his abilities.

483. On the sixth day they reached Otumba, not far from the road leading from Mexico to Tlascala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it; flying parties of the enemy still hanging on their rear; and amidst the insults which they uttered, Marina remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on, robbers: go to the place where you shall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes." The meaning of this threat they understood when they had reached the summit of an eminence before them. There a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with an army extending as far as the eye could reach.

484. The Mexicans had assembled their principal force in this place, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the sight of this incredible multitude, the Spaniards began to despair. But Cortes, without allowing their fears to gather

strength by reflection, after warning them that no alternative now remained but to conquer or die, led them instantly to the charge. The Mexicans awaited their approach with unusual fortitude.

485. Such, however, was the superiority of the Spanish discipline and arms, that the impression of this small body was irresistible; and whichever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed the most numerous battalions. But while they gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another; and though the Spaniards were successful in every attack, yet they were ready to sink under those repeated efforts, without seeing any end to their toil, or any hope of victory.

486. At that time Cortes observed the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle; he assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and placing himself at their head, pushed forward towards the standard with an impetuosity that bore down every thing before it. A chosen body of nobles who guarded the standard, made some resistance, but were soon broken. Cortes, with a stroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him to the ground; one of his followers dismounting, killed him, and laid hold of the imperial standard.

487. The moment that their leader fell, and the standard, to which all turned their eyes, disappeared, the Mexicans, as if the bond which held them together had been dissolved, threw away their weapons, and fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards, unable to pursue them far, returned to take the spoils of the field, which were so valuable as to be some compensation for the wealth which they had lost in Mexico. The principal warriors in the enemy's army, had been dressed out in their richest ornaments, expecting that they were marching to certain victory.

488. Next day, to their great joy, they entered the Tlascalan territories. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlascalans to the Mexican name was so inveterate, and their desire to avenge the death of their countrymen so vehement, that far from taking advantage of the distressed situation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a cordiality which quickly renewed all their former confidence.

489. Some interval of tranquillity and indulgence was now absolutely necessary, that the soldiers might give attention to

the cure of their wounds, which had been too long neglected, as well as to recruit their strength. Cortes had still a body of troops equal in number to that with which he had penetrated into the centre of the Mexican empire, and taken possession of the capital; his experience of the natives, and knowledge of the country, inspired him with hopes of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by the late events.

490. His attention to court the Tlascalcan chiefs was one of his first measures: he distributed among them so liberally of the rich spoils of Otumba, that he was secure of obtaining whatever he should require of the republic. He drew a small supply of ammunition, and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He dispatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez' fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew it would be in vain to attempt the conquest of Mexico, unless he had the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare in the forest of Tlascala, materials for building twelve brigantines, so as they might be carried, in pieces, ready to be put together, and launched when necessary.

491. But while he was thus taking measures towards the execution of his design, an obstacle arose in a quarter where it was least expected. The spirit of discontent broke out in his own army. The followers of Narvaez bitterly repented their choice; happy in having made their escape in the perilous retreat from Mexico, they trembled at the thoughts of being exposed a second time to similar dangers. As soon as they discovered the intention of Cortes, they secretly began to murmur and cabal; and growing gradually more audacious, they, in a body, offered a remonstrance to their general, against the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his shattered forces; and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba.

492. Cortes, with all his skill in the arts of command, could not prevail; neither argument, entreaties, or presents, were sufficient to remove their fears: his own soldiers, animated with the spirit of their leader, warmly seconded his endeavors, but all in vain: the utmost that he could effect, was to prevail with them to defer their departure, on a promise that he would, at a more proper time, dismiss such as should desire it.

493. That the malcontents might be diverted from brooding over the causes of their disaffection, he resolved instantly to call forth his troops into action. His first expedition was

against the Tepeacans, who had cut off a small detachment of Spaniards, consisting mostly of the followers of Narvaez, when marching from Zempoalla to Mexico: another party had been destroyed in the mountains as they were returning from Tlascala to Vera Cruz, with the share of the Mexican gold allotted to the garrison. The desire of vengeance engaged them more willingly in this war.

494. Cortes took the command in person, and reduced that province to subjection in the space of a few weeks, making great slaughter of the Tepeacans. Thus, for several months, he kept his troops constantly employed against the adjacent provinces. His men, thus accustomed to victory, resumed the former opinion of their superiority; the Mexican power was weakened; and the Tlascalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards; the chiefs were delighted with seeing their country enriched with the spoils of their enemies, and were astonished every day with fresh discoveries of the irresistible prowess of their new allies, and exerted every nerve to support them.

495. The reinforcements that Cortes expected from the isles were now the chief object of his thoughts; the aid of these, however, was distant and uncertain. But what neither his own sagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a series of fortunate and unforeseen events. The governor of Cuba, who supposed the success of Narvaez was an infallible certainty, having sent two small ships after him with new instructions and a supply of men and military stores; the officer, whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast, artfully decoyed them into the harbor of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader than him they were destined to join.

496. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbor. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Carey, governor of Jamaica, who had long aimed at dividing the glory and gain of the Mexican empire, with Cortes. After a succession of disasters, they were compelled, by famine, to venture into Vera Cruz, and to cast themselves on the mercy of their countrymen; as if the spirit of revolt had been contagious to New Spain, these were easily persuaded to abandon their old master, and enlist under Cortes.

497. A ship about this time also arrived from Spain, fitted out by some merchants, with military stores, in hopes of a profitable market, in a country, the fame of whose opulence be-

gan to spread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchased a cargo, which to him was invaluable, and the crew following the general example, joined him at Tlascalala. It was a singular circumstance that the two persons chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with those seasonable supplies should be, one an avowed enemy who sought his destruction, and the other an envious rival, who wished to supplant him.

498. The first effect of the junction with his new followers, was to dismiss such of Narvaez' soldiers, as remained, reluctantly, in his service. After their departure, he still mustered five hundred and fifty infantry, forty horsemen, and a train of nine field-pieces; at the head of these, accompanied by 10,000 Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his second march towards Mexico, on the 28th of December, 1520. The Mexicans were prepared to receive him.

499. The chiefs of the empire, upon the death of Montezuma, instantly raised his brother, Quetlavaca, to the throne. He embraced the first opportunity of convincing them that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting, in person, those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital, and after their retreat he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico.

500. He saw the storm that was gathering; he therefore repaired what the Spaniards had destroyed in the city, and strengthened it with new fortifications: he filled his magazines with the usual weapons of war, and directed long spears to be made, headed with the swords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He summoned the people in every province to take arms; he also endeavored to persuade the Tlascalans to withdraw their aid and friendship from those strangers who had given such manifest indications of their enmity to their gods, and who would, at last, subject them to the same yoke they were endeavoring to impose upon others.

501. These representations were urged with such force and solid reason, that it required all the address of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impression. But while the Mexican chief was forming his plan of defence, with great foresight, the small-pox, which the Spaniards had introduced into New Spain, put an end to his career. The Mexicans, at his death, raised to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law to Montezuma, a young man of high reputation for abilities and valor; and at this dangerous crisis, his countrymen, with one voice, called him to the supreme command.

502. As Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he found various obstructions; but his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he established his head-quarters, it being a convenient station for launching his brigantines, and for making his approaches to the capital.

503. The cazique, or chief, who presided there, he deposed, under pretext of some defect in his title, and put in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir to that dignity. By this artifice, the new cazique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity. Cortes having early discovered symptoms of disaffection in the cities round about Mexico, availed himself of this circumstance to gain their confidence and friendship.

504. He offered, with confidence, to deliver them from the galling yoke of the Mexicans, and was very liberal of promises if they would unite with him against their oppressors. By these arts he prevailed upon several considerable districts, not only to acknowledge the king of Castile for their sovereign, but to supply the Spanish camp with provisions, and to augment his army with auxiliary troops. Guatimozin, on the first appearance of disaffection among his subjects, exerted himself with vigor to prevent or punish their revolt. He beheld, with deep concern, Cortes arming against his empire those very hands which ought to have been active in its defence, and ready to march against the capital, at the head of a numerous body of his own subjects.

505. While Cortes was thus circumscribing the Mexican power, a dangerous conspiracy had nearly ruined all his schemes. The soldiers of Narvaez, who still remained with him, had never perfectly united with the original companions of Cortes, neither did they enter so cordially into his measures. And now, on a near view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city so inaccessible as Mexico, and defended by a numerous army, their resolution began to fail. They began to cabal and censure their general's measures, and propose plans for their own safety, of which they deemed their commander totally negligent.

506. Antony Villefagna, a private soldier, but bold, intriguing, and strongly attached to Velasquez, artfully fomented this growing disaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malcontents, where, after many consultations, they agreed that their only remedy was, to assassinate Cortes and his most con-

siderable officers; confer the command on some person who would relinquish his plans, and adopt measures which, in their opinion, were more consistent with the general security.

507. Despair inspired them with courage. The hour for executing their design, the destined victims, and the officers to succeed them, were all named. These resolutions were signed by the conspirators, who bound themselves to each other by the most solemn oaths of mutual fidelity. But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes' ancient followers, who had been seduced, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had been long accustomed to revere, went privately to his general, and revealed to him all he knew.

508. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, repaired instantly to the quarters of Villefagna, accompanied by some of his most trusty officers. The astonishment at this unexpected visit, anticipated the confession of his guilt. While his attendants seized him, Cortes snatched from his bosom a paper containing the association, signed by the conspirators. Impatient to know how far the defection extended, he retired to read it, and found in it names which filled him with surprise and sorrow. Policy made him confine his inquiries to Villefagna alone, as the proofs of his guilt were manifest. He was condemned, after a short trial, and next morning was seen hanging before the door of the house in which he had lodged.

509. Cortes called his troops together, and having explained to them the atrocious designs of the conspirators, as well as the justice of the punishment of Villefagna, he added, with an appearance of satisfaction, that he was entirely ignorant of the other conspirators; as the traitor, when arrested, had suddenly torn and swallowed a paper which probably gave an account of the conspiracy; and could not be made, under the greatest tortures, to discover his accomplices. This artful declaration restored tranquillity to many a breast, that was throbbing with apprehension.

510. Cortes did not allow them leisure to ruminate on what had happened, but immediately called forth his troops to action. He had received intelligence that the materials for building the brigantines were ready. He therefore sent a convoy of 200 foot-soldiers, fifteen horsemen, and two field-pieces, under the command of Sandoval, whose activity and courage were manifested upon every occasion, and who had acquired the confidence, not only of Cortes, but of his fellow-soldiers. The service was singular and important: the whole utensils, the beams,

plank, masts, cordage, sails, iron-work, and an infinite variety of articles, were to be carried sixty miles over-land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the aid of domestic animals, or the use of machines.

511. The Tlascalans furnished for this purpose 8000 *tamemes*, an inferior order of men destined for servile uses, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and appointed 15,000 warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval placed the *tamemes* in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, and another in the rear, with considerable parties to cover the flanks. To each of these he joined some Spaniards to assist them in danger, and accustom them to regularity and subordination.

512. A body so numerous and so encumbered, advanced but slowly, but in excellent order. In some places, where they were confined by woods or mountains, the line of march extended above six miles. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds, but perceiving that there was no prospect of success in attacking an enemy always on his guard, they did not venture to molest them.

513. Sandoval had the glory of conducting safely to Tezcuco a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended. The joy occasioned by the safe arrival of the convoy was increased by the arrival of four ships from Hispaniola, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a fresh supply of arms and ammunition. Elevated with this additional strength, Cortes was impatient to begin the siege, and hastened the launching of the brigantines.

514. He employed a vast number of Indians for two months in deepening a small creek that emptied into the lake, so as to form a canal two miles in length. The Mexicans, aware of the danger that threatened them, endeavored to interrupt the laborers, or to burn the brigantines, but in vain: the work was at last completed. On the twenty-eighth of April, 1521, all the Spanish troops, with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with great military pomp, rendered more solemn by the celebration of religious rites, the brigantines were launched.

515. As they passed down the canal, father Olmedo blessed them, and gave to each a name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails, and bore away before the wind. A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius,

which, by means so extraordinary, had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico would have set the Spanish power and arms at defiance.

516. Cortes prepared to attack the city from three different quarters, from Tezcuco on the east side of the lake; from Tacuba on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. These towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. Sandoval commanded in the first, Pedro Alvarado in the second, and Christoval Olid in the third: allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounted to eighty-six horsemen, and eight hundred and eighteen foot-soldiers; of whom one hundred and eighteen were armed with muskets or cross-bows. Their train of artillery was three battering cannon, and fifteen field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of the greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards.

517. As Alvarado and Olid proceeded to the posts assigned them, they broke down the aqueducts which the Mexicans had erected to convey water into the capital, and this was the beginning of the distresses which the inhabitants were destined to suffer. The towns which they were ordered to take possession of, were deserted by the inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as the only place where he could hope to make a successful stand against such formidable enemies, who were approaching to assault him.

518. The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Necessity urged Guatimozin to hazard an attack: he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake, hoping to overwhelm them with numbers. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up, in a moment the sails were spread, and the brigantines, with irresistible impetuosity, broke through their feeble opponents, over-set many of their canoes, and dispersed the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans that their enemies were as formidable on this new element as they had found them on land.

519. Cortes, after this, remained absolute master of the lake,

and the brigantines preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at a considerable distance from each other, and at the same time covered the causeways, keeping off the canoes when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed such valor as was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unremitting service, which had become intolerable by the changes of the season; the periodical rains having set in with their usual violence.

520. Cortes, astonished at the difficulties and length of the siege, determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city, before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto proposed. With this view he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval, to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command, in person, of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan, on the 3d of July, 1521. Animated by his presence, and expecting some decisive event, the Spaniards pressed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke down one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and having entered the city, they gained ground incessantly, notwithstanding the multitude and ferocity of their enemies.

521. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did not forget that he might find it necessary to make a retreat; and in order to secure it, appointed Julian Alderete, a captain of note among the troops which he had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps, in the causeway, as the main body advanced. That officer thinking it beneath him to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action, and in full career of victory, neglected the important charge, and hurried on to join his companions in arms.

522. The Mexicans, whose military skill was daily improving, no sooner observed this, than they carried an account of it to their monarch. Guatimozin instantly discerned the consequence of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, that the Spaniards might be allured to push forwards, while he dispatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets, some by land, and others by water,

towards the great breach in the causeway which had been left open.

523. On a signal given, the priests in the principal temple struck the great drum consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful, solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with a contempt of death, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on by desperation, at first, began to retire in good order; but, as the enemy pressed on, the terror and confusion became general; so that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed in upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them over shoals where the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to rally his forces: fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands.

524. Finding all his endeavors to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save those who had thrown themselves into the water; but, while he was thus employed with more attention to their situation than his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and, though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their lives, he received several dangerous wounds, before he could disengage himself. About sixty Spaniards perished in this encounter: and what rendered the disaster still more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands of the enemy, never known to show mercy to a captive.

525. Night, though it delivered the Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in what was no less grievous: the noise of barbarous triumph, and the horrid festivals with which the Mexicans celebrated their victory. Every part of the city was illuminated: the great temple shone with peculiar splendor; so that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the death of the prisoners. They fancied they could discover their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stripped to dance before the image of the god, to whom they were offered.

526. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought they could distinguish each unhappy victim by the sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented the horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.

527. Cortes not only sympathized with his soldiers, but was op-

pressed with an additional load of anxious reflections, natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity; he could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish: he was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the drooping spirits and hopes of his followers. The juncture required an extraordinary exertion of courage.

528. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone: they sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of the invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared, with an audible voice, that in eight days' time, those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity established in the empire.

529. This prediction being uttered without any ambiguity, gained universal credit among the natives; several of the provinces, which had hitherto remained inactive, took up arms with enthusiastic ardor; even the Tlascalans were led to relax in their fidelity, and Cortes and his Spaniards were almost left alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates, took advantage of the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give them a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle; and, under cover of the brigantines, his troops lay in safety: the enemy was kept at a distance, and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

530. His allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes now veered about, from a belief that the gods had deceived the Mexicans, and had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them; such was the levity of this simple race of men.

531. In a short time, according to the account of Cortes, he was at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Notwithstanding this large addition of strength, he found it necessary to adopt a more wary system of operations. He made his advances gradually, and was more cautious of exposing his men to similar calamities, which they still bewailed.

532. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were instantly destroyed. Famine now began to rage amongst the Mexicans: the brigantines prevented all sup-

plies coming to their relief by water, and the Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues of the city; not only the common people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost want of provisions. These sufferings were succeeded by infectious and mortal distempers: the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes.

533. Guatimozin, notwithstanding all these various and pressing evils, remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected, with scorn, every overture of peace with Cortes; disdaining the idea of submission to the oppressors of his country, and was determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards, at length, with all their divisions, made a secure lodgment in the centre of the city. Three-fourths were now laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed that it could not long withstand assailants, who attacked it with superior advantage, and a more assured prospect of success.

534. The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where resistance was ineffectual; that he might rouse the more distant provinces, and maintain there a more successful war, with the public enemy. To facilitate the execution of this measure, they sought to gain time by endeavoring to amuse Cortes with overtures of peace. But they made this attempt upon a leader of too much sagacity and discernment to be deceived by their arts. Cortes suspecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was best to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy.

535. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes, crowded with people, rowing across the lake with uncommon rapidity, instantly gave a signal to chase. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the fleetest brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropped their oars, and throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize, and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up, only requesting that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children.

536. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared worthy of a better fate: he discovered none of the sullen fierceness of the

barbarian, nor the dejection of a suppliant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch; I have defended my people to the last extremity: nothing now remains but to die;—take this dagger," laying his hand on one Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life that can no longer be of use."

537. As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, all resistance on the part of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of the remaining part of the city. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five days, not one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in attacking, or of the other in defending, a city, on the fate of which both parties knew that of the empire depended. The struggle here was more obstinate, and more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds.

538. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise, if they had trusted to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbors, who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to throw off the yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. Great merit is due to the abilities of Cortes, who, under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendancy over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his schemes into execution.

539. The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But it was quickly damped by the disappointment of those sanguine hopes, which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, they could only collect an inconsiderable booty, amidst ruins and desolation. According to the account of Cortes, the whole amount was only 120,000 dollars, a sum far inferior to that which the Spaniards had formerly divided in Mexico. This sum, when divided among the conquerors, was so small, that many of them disdained the pittance that fell to their share.

540. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what had remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors, to

be thrown into the lake. Cortes, from an anxious desire to check the growing discontent among his followers, gave way to a deed which stained the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favorite, to torture, in order to enforce them to a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed.

541. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict with invincible fortitude; but his fellow sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected inquiring eye towards his master, and seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. The high-spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority, mingled with scorn, checked his weakness by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, he persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

542. The provinces now submitted to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marched through them, without interruption, and penetrated in different quarters to the great southern ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short and easy passage to the East Indies. The active mind of Cortés began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery. He was ignorant that this very scheme had been undertaken and accomplished, during the progress of his victorious arms in Mexico.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAGELLAN SAILS FROM SEVILLE

543. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman of honorable birth, having received ill treatment from his general and sovereign, in a transport of resentment formally renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Castile, in hopes that his worth would be more justly estimated. He revived Columbus's original and favorite project, of discovering a passage to India by a western course. Cardinal Ximenes listened to it with a most favorable ear. Charles V., on his arrival in his Spanish dominions, entered into the measure with no less ardor, and orders were issued for equipping a proper squadron at the public charge, of which the command

was given to Magellan, whom the king honored with the habit of St. Jago, and the title of captain-general, A. D. 1517.

544. On the tenth of August, 1519, Magellan sailed from Seville, with five ships, which were deemed at that time of considerable force; though the largest of them did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons burden: the crew of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty-four men, including some of the most skilful pilots in Spain, and several Portuguese sailors, in whom Magellan placed the utmost confidence.

545. After touching at the Canaries, he stood directly south, to the equinoctial line, and then to the coast of America. He did not reach the river de la Plata till the twelfth of January, 1520. That spacious body of water allured him to enter into it, but after sailing for some days, he concluded, from the shallowness of the stream, and its freshness, that the wished-for strait was not situated there.

546. On the 31st of March he arrived in the port of St. Julian, about 48 degrees of south latitude, where he resolved to winter. In this uncomfortable station he lost one of his squadron, and the Spaniards suffered so much from the inclemency of the climate, that the crews of three of the ships, headed by their officers, rose in open mutiny, and insisted on relinquishing the visionary project of a desperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous insurrection Magellan wisely suppressed, by an effort of courage no less prompt than intrepid: and inflicted the most exemplary punishment on the ringleaders.

547. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his scheme, he continued his voyage toward the south, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs of the people under his command. After sailing twenty days in that winding and dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great southern ocean opened to his view; and with tears of joy, he returned thanks to heaven, for having thus far crowned his endeavors with success.

548. He continued to sail in a north-west direction three months and twenty days, without discovering land; in this voyage, the longest that had ever been made on the unbounded ocean, he suffered incredible distress. His stock of provisions was almost exhausted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the shortest allowance, with which it was possible to sustain life: and the scurvy began to spread among them. One

circumstance alone afforded consolation. They enjoyed an uninterrupted succession of fair weather, with such favorable winds, that Magellan bestowed the name of *Pacific* on that ocean, which it still retains.

549. They would have soon sunk under their sufferings, had they not discovered and fell in with a cluster of islands, whose fertility afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. From these isles, to which he gave the name of the *Ladrones*, he proceeded on his voyage, and soon made a more important discovery of the islands now known by the name of the *Philippines*; in one of these he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his usual valor, he fell by the hands of those barbarians, together with several of his principal officers.

550. Other persons took the command, and after touching at several other islands in the Indian Ocean, they at length landed at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had arrived at that sequestered seat of their valuable commerce, which they had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction. There, and in the adjacent isles, they found a people acquainted with the benefit of trade, and pleased with opening an intercourse with a new nation.

551. They took in a cargo of valuable spices: with that and other specimens of rich commodities which they had collected from other countries, they loaded the Victory, which, of the two ships that remained, was the most fit for a long voyage, and set sail for Spain, under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese by the cape of Good Hope; and after many sufferings, he arrived at St. Lucar on the 7th of September, 1522, having sailed round the globe in the space of three years and twenty-eight days.

552. To return to the transactions of New Spain: At the time that Cortes was acquiring such vast territories, for his sovereign, and preparing the way for future conquests, it was his singular fate, not only to be destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign whom he served with such successful zeal, but was regarded as an undutiful and seditious subject. By the influence of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, his conduct, in assuming the government of New Spain, was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Cristoval de Tapia was commissioned to supersede Cortes, to

seize his person, confiscate his effects, make a strict scrutiny into his proceedings, and transmit the result of his inquiries to the court of the Indies, of which the bishop of Burgos was president.

553. Tapia landed a few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, at Vera Cruz, with the royal mandate to divest its conqueror of his power, and treat him as a criminal. But Fonseca had chosen a very improper person to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had neither the reputation, nor the talents, that suited the high command to which he had been appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expressed the highest veneration for the emperor's authority, secretly took measures to defeat the effect of his commission: and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of conferences and negotiations, sometimes making use of threats, but more frequently employing bribes and promises, he at length prevailed on that weak man to abandon a province he was unworthy of governing.

554. But Cortes was so sensible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he dispatched deputies to Spain with a pompous account of the success of his arms, with further specimens of the productions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquests; requesting as a recompense for all his services, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be intrusted with the government of those territories which his conduct, and the valor of his followers, had added to the crown of Castile.

555. The account of Cortes' victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The public voice declared loudly in favor of his pretensions, and Charles adopted the sentiments of his subjects with a youthful ardor. He appointed him captain-general and governor of New Spain. But it was not without difficulty that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spanish colony. Enraged and rendered desperate by oppression, the natives often forgot the superiority of their enemies; and took up arms in defence of their liberties. In every contest, however, the European valor and discipline prevailed: but fatally for the honor of their country, the Spaniards sullied the glory redounding from their repeated victories, by their mode of treating the vanquished.

556. In almost every province of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious, as disgrace the enterprising valor that conducted them to success. In the province of Panuco, sixty ca-

ziques or chiefs, and four hundred nobles, were burned at one time. Nor was this shocking barbarity committed in any sudden effect of rage, or by a commander of inferior note ; it was the act of Sandoval, who was entitled to the second rank in the annals of New Spain, executed after a solemn consultation with Cortes : and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the victims were compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies.

557. This dreadful example of severity, was followed by another which affected the Mexicans still more sensibly. On a slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, Guatimozin was charged with attempting to throw off the yoke, and to excite his former subjects to take up arms. Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caziques of Tezcuco and Tacuba, two persons of great eminence in the empire, to be hanged ; and the Mexicans beheld, with astonishment, this ignominious punishment inflicted upon persons, whom they had been accustomed to look upon with a reverence, little inferior to that which they paid the gods themselves.

558. When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of New Spain, he at the same time appointed commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there. These men were astonished, when arriving in Mexico, at the high authority which Cortes exercised. In their letters they represented Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, who, having usurped a jurisdiction superior to law, aimed at independence. These insinuations made such deep impression on the mind of the Spanish ministers, that unmindful of the past services of Cortes, they infused the same suspicions into the mind of Charles, and prevailed on him to order a solemn inquest to be made into his conduct, with powers to the licentiate, Ponce de Leon, intrusted with that commission, to seize his person, if expedient, and send him prisoner to Spain.

559. The sudden death of Ponce de Leon, which happened soon after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commission. Cortes beheld the approaching crisis of his fortune, with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind, conscious of high desert, and receiving unworthy treatment. His old faithful followers, stung with resentment, advised him to seize that power, which the courtiers were so mean as to accuse him of coveting.

560. Actuated by sentiments of loyalty, he rejected the dangerous advice, and repaired directly to Spain ; choosing rather

to commit himself and his cause to the justice of his sovereign, than submit to be tried in a country, where he had the chief command, and by a set of interested and partial judges.

561. In the year 1528, Cortes appeared in his native country, with the splendor that suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well as by the most considerable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed, at once, every suspicion. The emperor received him as a person entitled to high respect, for the eminence of his services. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of a vast territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and he was admitted to the same familiar intercourse with the emperor, as noblemen of the first rank. But amidst these external proofs of regard, some symptoms of remaining distrust appeared.

562. Although he earnestly solicited to be reinstated in the government of New Spain, Charles peremptorily refused to grant his request. The military department, with power to attempt new discoveries, was left in his hands: with this diminished authority he returned to New Spain, and Antonio de Mendoza was sent thither with the title of viceroy. Cortes fitted out several small squadrons, and sent them into the South Sea to make discoveries, which either perished in the attempt, or returned unsuccessful. Being weary of intrusting his operations to others, in the year 1536, he took the command of a new armament, and after enduring incredible hardships discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain.

563. The discovery of a country of such extent, would have reflected credit on a common adventurer, but could add little honor to the name of Cortes. Disgusted with ill success, and weary of contending with adversaries, to whom he considered it a disgrace to be opposed, he once more sought for redress in his native country. His fate there was the same with that of all the persons who had distinguished themselves in the discovery of the New World; envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he ended his days on the second of December, 1547, in the sixty-second year of his age.

564. The first viceroy of New Spain arrived in 1535. From this period to the year 1808, Mexico was governed by a succession of fifty viceroys, of whom only one was an American

by birth, the marquis de Casa Fuerte, a native of Peru. The annals of Mexico, from the conquest to the beginning of the present century, are remarkably devoid of interest. The revolutionary spirit which manifested itself in the other Spanish provinces, spread into Mexico in 1811, and produced an insurrection which was quelled after much bloodshed.

565. In February, 1821, a glorious and effectual revolution took place, which ended in the acknowledgment of the independence of Mexico, by don John O'Donoju, who had been recently appointed captain-general of New Spain by the Spanish government. By the intrigues of the court of Old Spain, Iturbide attempted to establish himself as emperor of Mexico, in 1822; but he was taken prisoner by the republican troops soon after he had effected a landing, put to death, and his family banished. The emissaries of the Spanish monarch still continuing to foment dissensions among the people, a decree was passed by the Mexican Congress, in the beginning of 1828, that all Spaniards should leave the country within three months from the date of it: and though the minds of the inhabitants continued for a time in a high degree of political excitement, there is no doubt that the friends of order and pacific government will maintain the ascendancy.

CHAPTER IX.

ACCOUNT OF PIZARRO.—CONQUEST OF PERU.

566. Having related the daring achievements of Cortes and his followers, and the subjugation of the Mexican empire, it now remains to close the history of South America with the conquest of Peru. The chief actors in this undertaking were Francis Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and Hernando Luquez.

567. Pizarro was the illegitimate son of a gentleman, by a woman of very low birth; and as it frequently happens to the offspring of unlawful love, he was neglected by the author of his birth, who was so unnatural as to set him, when arriving at the years of manhood, to feed his hogs. Young Pizarro could not long brook such an ignoble occupation. His aspiring mind thirsted after military glory, and he enlisted as a soldier; and after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, where he soon distinguished himself.

568. With a courage no less daring, than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, and endured the greatest hardships. Though he was so illiterate that he could not read, he was considered as a man formed to

command. Every expedition committed to his conduct, proved successful; he was as cautious in executing, as bold in forming, his plans. Engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and depending upon himself to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a perfect knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was qualified to conduct the one, and govern the other.

569. Almagro had as little to boast of his descent. The one was born out of wedlock, the other a foundling. Educated like his companion, in the camp, he was equally intrepid, of insurmountable constancy, in enduring those hardships which were inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these splendid accomplishments were joined to an openness, generosity, and candor natural to men who profess the military art. In Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician; he had the art to conceal his own purposes, and sagacity to penetrate those of other men.

570. Hernando de Luquez was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and school-master at Panama, and who had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence. Such were the men who eventually overturned one of the most extensive empires recorded in history.

571. Their confederacy was authorized by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama, and was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luquez celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three parts, of which each had his portion; and thus in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract, of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects.

572. Pizarro set sail from Panama on the fourteenth of November, 1524, with one single vessel, and an hundred and eighty-two men. Almagro was to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, and Luquez was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor and promote the general interest. Pizarro had chosen the most improper time of the whole year; the periodical winds at that time set in, and were directly adverse to the course he proposed to steer. After beating about for seventy days, his progress towards the south-east was no more than what a skilful navigator will make in as many hours.

573. Notwithstanding Pizarro suffered incredible hardships from famine, fatigue, the hostility of the natives where he landed, the distempers incident to a moist sultry climate, which proved fatal to several of his men; yet his resolution remained

undaunted, and he endeavored, by every persuasive art, to reanimate their desponding hopes. At length he was obliged to abandon the inhospitable coast of Terra Firma, and retire to Chucama, opposite to the Pearl Islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama.

574. Almagro soon after followed him with seventy men, and landing them on the continent, where he had hoped to meet with his associate, was repulsed by the Indians, in which conflict he lost one eye by the wound of an arrow: they likewise were compelled to reembark, and chance directed them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their sufferings. Notwithstanding all they had suffered, they were inflexibly bent to pursue their original intention. Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops; but his countrymen, discouraged at the recital of the sufferings he and Pizarro had sustained, were not to be persuaded to engage in such hard service: the most he could muster was about fourscore men.

575. Feeble as this reinforcement was, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations, and after a long series of disasters, part of the armament reached the bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, landed at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Emeralds, and beheld a country more fertile than any they had yet discovered on the Southern Ocean; the natives were clad in garments of woollen, or cotton stuff, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver.

576. Pizarro and Almagro, however, were unwilling to invade a country so populous, with a handful of men enfeebled by diseases and fatigue. Almagro met with an unfavorable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of Panama. After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence, esteemed the first of all virtues, by persons of limited faculties, incapable of conceiving or executing great designs, he concluded the expedition detrimental to an infant colony; prohibited the raising new levies, and dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo.

577. Almagro and Luquez, deeply affected with these measures, communicated their sentiments privately to Pizarro, requesting him not to relinquish an enterprise on which all their hopes depended, as the means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune. Pizarro's mind, inflexibly bent on all its pursuits, required no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders,

and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him.

578. But the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends, after so long an absence, and suffering such incredible hardships, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen daring veterans remained with their commander. This small, but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country was indebted for the most valuable of its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona, where they determined to wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted their associates there would eventually procure.

579. Almagro and Luquez were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the people, who exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public service, charged with no error, but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage. The governor, overcome with entreaties and expostulations, at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But unwilling to encourage Pizarro in any new enterprise, he would not permit one land-man to embark.

580. Pizarro and his companions had remained five months on an island in the most unhealthy climate in the region of America: during which period, they were buoyed up with hopes of succors from Panama; till worn out with fruitless expectations, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float; but on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Pizarro easily induced them to resume their former scheme with fresh ardor. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, when, on the twentieth day after their departure, they discovered the coast of Peru.

581. They landed in 1526 at Tumbez, a place of some note, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire: a country fully peopled and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry: the natives decently clothed, ingenious, and so far surpassing the other natives of the New World, as to have the use of tame domestic animals.

But their notice was most pleasingly attracted with the show of gold and silver, which not only appeared as ornaments on their persons and temples, but several of their vessels for common use were made of those precious metals.

582. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and concluded all their wishes and dreams of inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized. It was, however, impracticable for him, with such a slender force, to make any progress in subjugating a country so populous, and of which he hoped, hereafter, to take possession. He ranged along the coast, maintaining a friendly intercourse with the natives, who were no less astonished at their new visitants than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld.

583. Having explored the country as far as was requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their lamas, or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep; some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity; and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Spanish language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated: with these he arrived at Panama. Yet neither the splendid relation which he and his associates gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor the bitter complaints he made on account of the unseasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to make a settlement there, could move the governor to swerve from his former purpose.

584. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the ardor of the three associates; they therefore determined to solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which was refused by his delegate. With this view, after adjusting among themselves that Pizarro should claim the station of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant governor, and Luquez the dignity of bishop, in the country which they proposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain.

585. Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court; he appeared before the emperor with the unembarrassed dignity of a man conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negotiations with such dexterity and address, as could not have been expected from his education or former habits of life. His description of his own sufferings, and pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens

he had brought, made such an impression on Charles, and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader. Presuming upon those favorable dispositions, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of his associates : but as the pretensions of Luquez did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired.

586. For Almagro he claimed only the command of a fortress, intended to be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He was appointed governor, captain-general, and *adelantado* of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer ; with supreme authority, civil as well as military, and an absolute right to all the privileges and emoluments, usually granted to adventurers in the New World. His jurisdiction was declared to extend six hundred miles along the coast, south of the river St. Jago ; to be independent of the governor of Panama : and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him.

587. In return for these concessions, Pizarro engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men ; to provide the ships, arms, and requisite warlike stores, to subject to the crown of Castile, the country of which the government was allotted him. Pizarro's funds were so low, that he could not complete more than half the stipulated number : after he had received his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal away privately, out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers who were charged to examine whether he had fulfilled the stipulations of his contract : before his departure, Cortes, who had returned to Spain about this time, advanced him a supply of money, willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory, similar to that which he himself had finished.

588. He landed at Nombre de Dios, in 1529, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo : of whom the first was born in lawful wedlock, the others, like himself, were of illegitimate birth ; and by Francis his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions. Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted the negotiation, that he not only refused to act any longer, in concert with a man, by whose per-

fidy he had been deprived of the honors and emoluments to which he had a just claim, but labored to thwart all his schemes, and rival him in his discoveries.

589. Pizarro had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of *adelantado*, and promising to concur in soliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted soldier, which had been violent, but not implacable. Luquez, highly satisfied with having been successful in all his own pretensions, zealously seconded Pizarro's endeavors. A reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms.

590. Notwithstanding their reunion, their interest was barely sufficient to equip three small vessels; on board of these shipped only one hundred and eighty soldiers: thirty-six of whom were horsemen. Pizarro, with this contemptible force, set sail to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcements he could procure. Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days, but was carried by the winds and currents above three hundred miles north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and was obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew.

591. Without losing a moment, he began to advance towards the south, taking care not to depart from the sea-shore, that he might effect a junction with the supplies he expected from Panama. Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he ought to obtain their confidence, subjected himself and his followers to many calamities; such as famine, fatigues, and diseases of various kinds, hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. These disasters corresponded so ill with the alluring prospect of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, had they not met with some appearances of wealth, which seemed to justify the reports of their leader.

592. At length they reached the province of Coaque, the fourteenth of April, 1531, and having surprised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized the vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, valued at thirty thousand dollars, with other booty of such value, as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes.

593. Pizarro was so delighted with this rich spoil, which he considered the fruits of a land overflowing with treasure, that he instantly dispatched one of his ships to Panama, with a large

remittance to Almagro ; and another to Nicaragua, with a considerable sum to certain persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Disdaining to employ any conciliatory means to bring over the natives to his interest, he continued his march, and attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them to retire into the interior country, or to submit at discretion.

594. This sudden appearance of strangers whose actions and manners were so different from their own, and whose power appeared irresistible, made the same dreadful impression on these natives, as in the other parts of America. He met with little resistance, until he attacked the island of Puna, in the bay of Guayaquil. The inhabitants of this island were numerous, less civilized and more fierce and warlike than those on the continent ; they defended themselves with such obstinate valor, that six months elapsed before Pizarro could reduce them to subjection.

595. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where he remained three months to recruit his men, who were attacked by distempers peculiar to the climate. While he lay here, two detachments arrived from Nicaragua, which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence ; especially as they were commanded by Sebastian Bencalazar, and Hernando Soto, two officers of distinguished merit and reputation. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura, and near the mouth of it, he established the first Spanish colony in Peru ; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

596. At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the territory of its sovereigns extended in length from north to south above fifteen hundred miles, along the Pacific ocean ; the breadth from east to west was considerably less, being bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from one extremity to the other. According to the traditions of the natives of Peru, they were rude and uncivilized like the rest of the savages of America, until Manco Capac and Mamma Ocollo appeared amongst them, who declared themselves to be the children of the Sun, sent by their beneficent parent, in pity, to instruct and reclaim them. These extraordinary personages settled at Cuzco, and laid the foundations of a city.

597. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and the useful arts. Mamma Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave. After providing food and raiment and habitations for the rude people, of whom he took charge, Manco Capac intro-

duced such laws and policy, as might be the most likely to perpetuate their happiness. The functions of those he placed in authority were so well defined, and the administration of justice maintained with so steady a hand, that the country over which he presided assumed the aspect of a well-governed state.

598. Thus, according to tradition, was founded the empire of the *Incas*, or Lords of Peru. They were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their persons were held sacred; intermarriages with the people were forbidden, and their blood was never contaminated with any other race: their clothing was different; the monarch appeared with ensigns of royalty, reserved for him alone, and received from his subjects homage and respect which approached to adoration.

599. In the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne, eminent for his pacific virtues, as well as for his martial talents; he added the kingdom of Quito to his dominions, by which he nearly doubled the power of the Peruvian empire: he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito, by whom he had a son, Atahualpa, whom he named at his death his successor, which happened about the year 1529, leaving the rest of his kingdom to Huascar his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race.

600. Notwithstanding the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch, to whose wise administration their country was so much indebted; yet, when they were informed of the order of succession so repugnant to ancient usage, and deemed sacred amongst them, they manifested a disposition unfavorable to his successor. Huascar, encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior; but Atahualpa had gained to his interest a large body of troops, which had accompanied his father to Quito; these were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, and were accustomed to victory: relying on their support, Atahualpa eluded his brother's demand, and marched against him in hostile array.

601. Thus, by the ambition of two young men, the kingdom of Peru was involved in a civil war: the force of arms triumphed over the authority of the laws, and Atahualpa remained victorious, but made a cruel use of his victory. He put to death all the children of the Sun, descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize by force or stratagem. His brother Huascar, from political motives, was spared for some time, and de-

tained a prisoner, that by issuing orders in his name the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

602. When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Michael, this civil war raged with such fury between the two brothers, that although they received early accounts of the invasion of their country, and the violent proceedings of the Spaniards, they were so intent upon a war, which to them appeared more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, whose number was too small to excite any great alarm; and whose career they imagined they could easily check when more at leisure.

603. The first information Pizarro received respecting the war, was from Huascar himself, who sent messengers to Pizarro to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as an usurper, and a rebel. Pizarro discovered at once the importance of this intelligence: and without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, with part of his troops boldly pushed forward, leaving a small garrison in St. Michael.

604. He directed his course towards Caxamarca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer from the Inca met him, with a valuable present, and an offer of his alliance, together with an assurance of a friendly reception at Caxamarca.

605. Pizarro, with the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended he was the ambassador of a very powerful monarch; that he was coming to assist him against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne. The Peruvians had formed various conjectures concerning the Spaniards; it was altogether incomprehensible to them what had induced the strangers to enter their country: sometimes they were disposed to consider them as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from a beneficent motive.

606. Their continual professions of good-will strengthened this conjecture, and Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intention, so gained upon the credulity of the Inca, that he determined to give him a friendly reception: he therefore allowed the Spaniards to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupe, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From thence they advanced to the moun-

tains, and passed through a narrow defile so inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against the whole power of Spain, in that part of the globe.

607. The Spaniards were suffered to take possession of a fort, erected for the security of that important station. As they drew near to Caxamarca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and as a further proof of his sincerity, sent them presents of much greater value than the former.

608. The Spaniards, on entering Caxamarca, took possession of a large space of ground, on one side of which was a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun: the whole surrounded with a strong rampart of earth. The troops being thus safely disposed, Pizarro dispatched Hernando Soto and his brother Ferdinand to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. They were instructed to confirm the declaration he had before made, of his pacific disposition, and to request an interview with the Inca.

609. They were treated with that respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians, and obtained a promise from the Inca to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The deputies were astonished at the order which prevailed in the court of the Peruvian monarch; but their attention was more particularly attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants; the vessels of gold and silver, in which the repast offered to them was served up, and the utensils of every kind, formed of those precious metals used in common amongst them, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the sixteenth century could form.

610. On their return to Caxamarca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld; they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution he had already taken. He remembered the advantages Cortes had gained by seizing Montezuma; and he was, from the same motives, desirous of getting the Inca in his power, by a plan as daring as it was perfidious.

611. He determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize his person during the interview to which he had invited him. He formed his plan with deliberation, and with as little compunction as if it was perfectly allowable by principles of justice and honor. He divided his cavalry into three small

squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry was formed in one body, except twenty of tried courage, whom he kept near his own person, to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bow men, were placed opposite to the avenue, by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for the action was given.

612. Early in the morning, the Peruvian camp was all in motion. Atahualpa, solicitous to appear with the greatest splendor and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, took up so much time in his preparations, that the day was far advanced before he began his march, and moved so slowly, that the Spaniards were apprehensive their intention was suspected. To remove this, Pizarro dispatched one of his officers with fresh assurance of his friendly disposition.

613. The Inca at length approached, preceded by four hundred men in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself sitting on a throne, adorned with plumes of various colors, almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner, attended by several bands of musicians, and the whole plain was covered with troops amounting to more than 30,000 men.

614. As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse attempted to explain to him the fall of Adam, the incarnation, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, and the donation made by pope Alexander to the king of Castile of all the regions in the New World.

615. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, and acknowledge the pope as supreme head of the church, and the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, that if he instantly complied, the Castilian monarch would take him under his protection, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey his summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

616. This strange harangue upon abstruse subjects, and unknown facts, it was impossible at once to make an untutored Indian understand. It was altogether incomprehensible to him. Those parts of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, notwithstanding, was temperate. He observed that he was lord over the dominions he governed, by hereditary right; that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, as rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; and that he had no inclination to renounce the religious faith of his ancestors, nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity, whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the god of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that as to the other parts of the discourse, as he could not understand their meaning, he wished to know where he had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent: it tells me nothing," and threw it with disdain to the ground. The monk, enraged at this action, ran towards his countrymen, and cried out, "Christians! to arms! to arms! the word of God is insulted, avenge this profanation on those impious dogs!"

617. Pizarro gave the signal of assault: instantly the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, they sallied out fiercely to the charge, and the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The astonished Peruvians, dismayed at the suddenness of the attack, so altogether unexpected; the irresistible impression of the cavalry, and the fire-arms, fled with universal consternation in every quarter, without attempting any defence. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and notwithstanding his nobles vied with each other in sacrificing their own lives to cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro having seized the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters.

618. The Spaniards, elated with success, pursued the fugitive Peruvians in every direction, and with unrelenting barbarity continued the slaughter until the close of the day, without meeting any resistance. About four thousand Peruvians were killed, not one Spaniard fell, and Pizarro was the only one hurt, having received a slight wound from one of his

own soldiers, while struggling to lay hold of the Inca. The plunder of the field was rich, beyond any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the wealth of Peru.

619. Transported with their success, and the value of their plunder, they passed the night in mirth and rejoicings, as might have been expected from such needy adventurers, upon such a sudden change of fortune: their exultation was extravagant, and without any remorse for having slain so many innocent people, without any just cause of provocation.

620. At first the Inca could hardly believe a calamity so unexpected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate; his dejection was equal in proportion to the grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro fearing he should lose the great advantages he had promised himself, by having him in his possession, endeavored to console him, with professions of kindness and respect, that did not in the least correspond with his actions.

621. By residing among the Spaniards, Atahualpa soon discovered their ruling passion; which they were in nowise careful to conceal; and by applying to that made an attempt to recover his liberty. The offer he made for his ransom astonished the Spaniards. The apartment in which he was confined, was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; this he undertook to fill with vessels of gold, as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height, to which the treasure was to rise.

622. Pleased with having a prospect of liberty, the Inca took measures for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed, with orders to bring what was necessary for obtaining his ransom, immediately to Caxamarca. The Peruvians, accustomed to respect every mandate of their sovereign with the greatest alacrity, executed his orders.

623. Deceived with the hopes of regaining his liberty by this means, and afraid of endangering his life, by forming any other scheme for his relief, no preparations were made, and no army assembled, to avenge their own wrongs, or those of their monarch, though the force of the empire was entire. The Spaniards remained at Caxamarca unmolested. Small detachments marched into the remote provinces of the empire, and instead of meeting with any opposition, were received with distinguished marks of respect.

624. About the month of December, 1532, Almagro landed at St. Michael, with such a reinforcement as was nearly double in number to the forces with Pizarro. The arrival of this long expected succor was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and ignorant of the source from whence they derived their supplies, or the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might arise.

625. While his mind was agitated by these reflections, he learned that some of the Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar, in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his cause; and if they would espouse it, he had promised them a quantity of treasure, vastly exceeding what he was to give for his ransom. He clearly perceived his own destruction to be inevitable, if the Spaniards should listen to this proposal; and as he well knew their insatiable thirst for gold, he had not the least doubt but they would close in with the proposal.

626. To prevent this, and to save his own life, he gave orders that Huascar should be put to death; which was obeyed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality. The Indians meanwhile daily arrived from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure; a great part was now amassed of what had been agreed upon, and Atahualpa assured the Spaniards, that the only reason why the whole was not brought in was, the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited.

627. But such vast piles of gold, presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. The whole, except some vessels of curious workmanship, reserved as a present for the emperor, was melted down, and after deducting a fifth for the emperor, there remained the amount of 1,528,500 dollars to Pizarro and his followers; besides 100,000 dollars as a donative to Almagro and his soldiers.

628. The festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the division of this large sum; it began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, and with ridiculous grimace, pretended (for they could not be in earnest) they expected the guidance of heaven, in distributing those wages of iniquity. Eight thousand dollars, equal to five times that amount in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and

half that sum to each foot-soldier. Pizarro and his officers received dividends in proportion to their rank.

629. There is no record in history, of a sum so great ever being divided among so small a number of soldiers. Many of them having thus unexpectedly acquired, what they deemed a competency, were so impatient to retire, and spend the remainder of their days in their native country, that they demanded their discharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, sensible that, from such men, he could expect neither enterprise in action, nor fortitude in suffering; persuaded at the same time that, wherever they went, the display of their wealth would allure other adventurers, granted their suit without reluctance, and permitted above sixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent to Spain with an account of his success, and the present destined for the emperor.

630. The treasure being now divided among the Spaniards, the Inca demanded his liberty, agreeably to their promise. Pizarro, instead of fulfilling this, had secretly determined to take away his life. Though he had seized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes' conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he was destitute of the talents for carrying on the same artful policy, by which he might have derived still greater advantages, from being master of his person. Atahualpa is allowed by the Spanish historians to have been a prince of greater abilities than Montezuma: he penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards, so that mutual suspicion and distrust soon took place between them.

631. Almagro and his followers, from selfish motives, demanded his life; and the unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate; during his confinement, he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro, and Hernando Soto, who had behaved to him with more decency and attention than the other officers had. Soothed with such respect from persons of their rank, he delighted in their society:—but in the presence of Pizarro he was overawed and uneasy; this soon became mingled with contempt.

632. He considered that among all the European arts, reading and writing were most to be admired. He long deliberated with himself, whether he should consider it as a natural or an acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he showed to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement they all returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on present-

ing it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him.

633. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, so mortified the pride of Pizarro, and excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death. But that he might not be alone responsible for the commission of so violent and unjust an action, he resolved to try him with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts in Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were appointed to record the proceedings of the court.

634. Before this mock tribunal, a charge was exhibited altogether so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making it the ground of a serious procedure, is as surprising as his injustice in depriving the monarch of a great empire of his liberty, and then bringing him to trial for exercising his sovereignty, agreeably to the known customs and laws established before the Spaniards ever came amongst them; and over whom they had no jurisdiction.

635. To judges predetermined in their opinion, the accusations appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burned. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just.

636. Astonished at his fate, Atahualpa endeavored to avert it by his tears, by promises, and by entreaties that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his fate. The unfeeling heart of Pizarro was never softened by pity. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempted to convert him; and promised to obtain a mitigation of his punishment, if he would embrace the Christian faith. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burned, was strangled at the stake. But it remains on record for the credit of the Spanish nation, that even among the profligate adventurers which were

sent to conquer and desolate the New World, there were persons who retained some of the Castilian generosity and honor.

637. Though Ferdinand Pizarro and Soto were sent off on separate commands before the trial of the Inca, there were others who opposed this odious transaction. Several officers, and amongst those some of the greatest reputation, and most respectable fame in the service, not only remonstrated, but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and an usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their endeavors were vain; the greater number, such as held every thing to be lawful that was advantageous, prevailed. History records the unsuccessful exertions of virtue with applause, and the Spanish writers have not failed to preserve the names of those who made the laudable effort to save their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime.

638. After the execution of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, expecting that a young man without experience would prove a more passive instrument in his hands, than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco and the adjacent country acknowledged Manco Capac a brother of Huascar, as Inca; but the authority of the Incas was dissolved by the violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown: first, by the civil wars between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards. They had seen the monarch suffer an ignominious death by the hands of strangers; many of the descendants of the Sun had been cut off by Atahualpa: their influence in the state was lost, and the accustomed respect to that sacred race sensibly diminished.

639. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, seized the brother and children of his late master, put them to a cruel death, and endeavored to establish a separate kingdom for himself.

640. Pizarro no longer hesitated to advance to Cuzco; he had received considerable reinforcements: the account of the wealth acquired at Caxamarca, operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand arrive at Panama, and display their riches to their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with such exaggeration, through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatemala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that

inexhaustible source of wealth, which seemed to be opened in Peru.

641. In spite of every check, such numbers resorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a considerable garrison at St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress; several fierce encounters happened; but they terminated like all the actions in America—a few Spaniards were killed or wounded, and the natives put to flight with incredible slaughter. Pizarro at length forced his way into Cuzco, and quietly seated himself in that capital. The riches found there exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom.

642. In their march to Cuzco, the son of Atahualpa, whom Pizarro had invested with the ensigns of royalty, died; and as the Spaniards neglected to appoint another in his place, Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognized. Benalcazar, who had been left governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed to be idle while his brethren were in arms, and in action: and impatient to have his name distinguished among the conquerors of the New World, set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement intrusted to his care, which was augmented by fresh recruits from Panama and Nicaragua.

643. Benalcazar had been informed by some of the natives, that Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasures at Quito. After marching through a mountainous country, covered with woods, and often attacked by the best troops in Peru, conducted by a skilful leader, the valor and good conduct of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But here they met with a cruel disappointment. The natives were now acquainted with the predominant passion of their invaders, and had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition.

644. By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he carried with him, obtained him a gracious reception. In recompense of his brother's services, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues along the coast, made to his former grant. Almagro received the honors he had so ardently desired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, stretching beyond the

southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish gentleman; he soon after set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country. Some accounts of his negotiations had reached Peru before his arrival there.

645. Almagro being informed that he had obtained the royal patent for an independent government, pretended that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, and attempted to make himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties were supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. Their reconciliation had never been sincere. Pizarro's treachery in engrossing all the honors and emoluments which, according to agreement, was to have been shared equally amongst them, was always present in both their thoughts.

646. Pizarro, conscious of his own perfidy, expected no forgiveness; and Almagro was impatient to be revenged. But, notwithstanding these incentives to hostilities, each was so well acquainted with the courage and abilities of his rival, that they dreaded the consequences of an open rupture. That evil was averted for the present, by the address and firmness of Pizarro; a new reconciliation took place; the most prominent article in this treaty was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili; and if that was not adequate to his merit, Pizarro engaged to indemnify him out of his Peruvian possessions. This agreement was confirmed with the same sacred solemnities as their first contract, and observed with no better fidelity.

647. Pizarro, after he had concluded this important transaction, marched back to the countries on the sea-coast, and applied himself with that persevering ardor, for which he was so eminently distinguished, to introduce a regular form of government. His natural sagacity supplied the want of science and experience: he divided the country into various districts, and appointed magistrates to preside in each: he considered himself as laying the foundation of a great empire; he deliberated with much solicitude, in which place he should fix the seat of government. Cuzco was situated in a corner of the empire, about four hundred miles from the sea, and at a greater distance from Quito.

648. In marching through the country, he had been struck

with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most fertile and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river of the same name, about six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbor in the Pacific Ocean, he founded the city known at this time by the name of Lima. On the 18th of January, A. D. 1535, he laid the foundation of a magnificent palace, which he destined for his own occupancy; and under his inspection the work advanced with great rapidity;—the stately houses erected by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur.

649. Almagro, in consequence of his agreement with Pizarro, began his march towards Chili; and as he was admired by his soldiers for a boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men: the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru. Impatient to finish the expedition, instead of advancing along the level country, Almagro chose to march across the mountains, by a shorter route, but almost impracticable.

650. By calamities they suffered from fatigue, famine, and the inclemency of the climate, many of them perished; and when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, they found there a race of men nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and astonished at the operations of their cavalry and fire-arms, the Chilese soon recovered from their surprise, defended themselves with obstinacy, and attacked their new enemies with more determined fierceness and courage, than any American nation had hitherto discovered.

651. The Spaniards, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold; but so far were they from thinking to form any settlement among such powerful neighbors, that in spite of the experience and valor of their leader, the final issue of the expedition remained extremely dubious. While they were in this painful suspense, a messenger arrived, who informed Almagro of a revolution that had unexpectedly taken place in Peru; the causes of which, as they make a necessary part of the History of America, it is expedient to trace to their source.

652. So many adventurers had flocked to Peru in the year 1535, from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that Pizarro thought it unsafe for them to be inactive; he therefore encouraged some of the principal officers, who had lately

joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose, and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. Manco Capac the Inca, observing the imprudence of the Spaniards in thus dividing their forces, and leaving only a small number for the defence of Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, resolved to avail himself of the advantage their weakness gave him.

653. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, he found means to communicate his scheme to the persons whom he had appointed to carry it into execution. After some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening at that time to arrive in Cuzco, he obtained permission of him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the chiefs of the empire were assembled. No sooner had the Inca joined them, than the standard of war was erected, and in a short time all the fighting men from Quito to Chili were in arms. Many Spaniards, living securely on the settlements allotted them, were massacred; and several small detachments, as they marched carelessly through the country were entirely cut off.

654. An army amounting, according to the Spanish historians, to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers attempted to defend, with only one hundred and seventy Spaniards. Another numerous body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. The communication between the two cities was cut off; the very great forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, interrupted every messenger: which kept the two parties in Cuzco and Lima ignorant of the fate of each other.

655. At Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, they made the greatest effort. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardor, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the undaunted ferocity of the Mexican warriors, they conducted their operations with sagacity. They endeavored to imitate the Spaniards in their discipline, and use of their arms, which they had taken from those they had slain. Their bravest warriors were armed with spears, swords, and bucklers: some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them.

656. The Inca, and a few of the boldest, were mounted on horses, like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances. In spite of

the valor, heightened by despair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one half of his capital; and before the Spaniards could drive him out of it, they lost Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some persons of note. Exhausted by fatigue, distressed with want of provisions, and despairing any longer of being able to resist an enemy, whose numbers daily increased, the soldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes of joining their countrymen, or of forcing their way to the sea, and finding some means of escaping from a country which had been so fatal to the Spanish name.

657. At this critical moment Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighborhood of Cuzco. By the same messenger who brought him the intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he concluded it was manifest, beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his jurisdiction. He was therefore equally desirous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros.

658. Almagro, unacquainted with events which had happened in his absence, and solicitous of gaining every intelligence necessary, advanced towards the capital, with great circumspection. Various negotiations with both parties were set on foot. The Inca endeavored to gain the friendship of Almagro, but despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, after many fruitless attempts to accomplish it, he attacked him by surprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. These were repulsed with great slaughter, a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro marched to the gates of Cuzco without interruption. The Pizarros had rendered themselves odious by their harsh domineering manners, while the generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained him many adherents of the Pizarros.

659. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the sentinels, or was admitted by them, and immediately invested the house where the two brothers resided, and compelled them, after an obstinate resistance, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name. In this conflict only two or three persons were killed, but it was soon followed with scenes more bloody.

660. Francis Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who

had invested Lima, and receiving some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, and relieve his brothers. This body advanced near to the capital, before they knew that they had an enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. They were astonished when they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress.

661. Almagro wished rather to gain, than conquer them, and endeavored by bribes and promises to seduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado was not to be shaken, but his talents for war were not equal to his integrity. Almagro amused him with various movements, the meaning of which he could not comprehend, while a large detachment of chosen soldiers passed the river in the night, surprised his camp, and took him prisoner, together with his principal officers, after having routed his troops before they had time to form.

662. Had Almagro known as well how to improve as to gain a victory, this event must have been decisive. Roderic Orgonez, an officer of great abilities, who had served under the Constable Bourbon, when he led the imperial army to Rome, and had been accustomed to bold and decisive counsels, advised him instantly to issue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, Alvarado, and a few other persons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, although he saw at once the utility of this counsel, would not suffer himself to be influenced by sentiments like those of a soldier of fortune, grown old in service, or the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in a civil war.

663. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; he dreaded the idea of being a rebel by entering a province which the king had allotted to another. As he was solicitous that his rival should be considered the aggressor, he marched back to Cuzco to wait his approach. Pizarro, whose spirit had remained unshaken under the rudest shock of adversity, was almost overwhelmed with such a tide of misfortune as now suddenly poured in upon him: but he was preserved from sinking under it, by the necessity of attending to his own safety, and the desire of revenge: he took measures for both, with his usual sagacity.

664. The command which he had of the sea-coast, by which he was enabled to receive supplies both of men and military stores, gave him an advantage which his rival could not expect.

As it was his interest to gain time, he had recourse to arts, which he had before practised with success, and Almagro was weak enough to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences, by some amicable accommodation. Pizarro, by varying his proposals, and changing his ground, when it suited his purpose, protracted the negotiations for several months, in which time, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the guard of soldiers to whose care they were intrusted, and not only escaped themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men who had guarded them, to accompany them in their flight.

665. One of the brothers being now at liberty, the governor by another act of perfidy procured the release of the other. He proposed that every point in controversy should be submitted to their sovereign; that until his decision was known, each should possess whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers whom Almagro proposed to send thither, to justify his claims. Notwithstanding the design of this artifice was so obvious, and the insincerity of the governor had been so often experienced, yet did Almagro, with credulity approaching to infatuation, conclude an agreement on these terms.

666. No sooner had Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, than the governor threw off the mask; the treaty was forgotten, pacific and conciliatory measures were no more mentioned; he openly declared that in the field, and not in the cabinet, by arms, and not by negotiation, was their difference to be adjusted; that it must now be determined who must be master of Peru.

667. His preparations were so rapid, that seven hundred men were soon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command of these was given to his two brothers, who were urged on by the desire of vengeance, and that rancorous enmity flowing from family rivalry; they attempted in vain to march across the mountains, in the direct road from Lima to Cuzco, but were forced to alter their route by a march towards the south, along the coast as far as Nasca; and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital.

668. Almagro, instead of defending those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. He was induced to take this resolution for two reasons: his followers amounted only to five hundred men, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body, by sending any detachment to

wards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded those of the enemy, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

669. The Pizarros, after surmounting the difficulties and obstructions which arose in their march through the desert, and horrid regions which lay in their road to Cuzco, at length appeared in the plain, where Almagro's forces were drawn up ready to receive them. Though the countrymen and subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the surrounding mountains, covered with a vast number of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack the successful party; so fell and implacable was their rancor, that not one pacific counsel, not a single proposition from either party towards an accommodation was offered.

670. Almagro was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this important crisis, he could not exert his usual activity, and was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, possessed not that ascendancy over the spirit and affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had been so long accustomed to follow and revere.

671. The conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage; on the side of Almagro were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well-disciplined musketeers, which the emperor had sent from Spain, on account of the insurrection of the Indians. This small band of soldiers, regularly trained and armed, decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, horse and foot were borne down before it; Orgognez, while he endeavored to rally and animate the troops, having received a dangerous wound, the rout became general.

672. The barbarity of the conquerors disgraced the glory of their victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; others were singled out by the meanness of private revenge, as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez, and several officers, were massacred in cold blood; above one hundred and forty fell in the field.

673. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, was carried in a litter to an eminence, which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agi-

tation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a commander long accustomed to victory. He endeavored to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner on the 26th of April, 1538, and guarded with the strictest vigilance.

674. The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over, a convincing evidence of that ascendancy the Spaniards had acquired over them; for they had not courage to fall upon their enemies when one party was ruined and dispersed, and they so weakened and fatigued that they might have been attacked to advantage.

675. The victorious troops found considerable booty in Cuzco; consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Chili and Peru. But so far did this, and whatever the liberality of Ferdinand Pizarro, could add to it, fall below their ideas of the recompense which they conceived due to their merit, that, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, he had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion.

676. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to discover and reduce various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. Volunteers resorted to the standard, erected upon this occasion, with the ardor of hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus was Pizarro delivered from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies. The death of Almagro had been determined from the moment the Pizarros had him in their power; but they were constrained to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as some of their own followers, on whom they could not perfectly rely, had left Cuzco.

677. As soon as they had set out on their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. Though he had often braved death with an undaunted spirit in the field, the sentence astonished him: the approach of death under this ignominious form, appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications unworthy of his former fame. He called upon the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the success and prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in op-

position to the repeated remonstrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives when they were in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with heaven.

678. The entreaties of a man so much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a stern eye. But the Pizarros remained inflexible. As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though a prisoner at that time in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

679. During the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended: the account of the transactions there, unfortunately for the victorious party, was carried thither by some of Almagro's officers, who had left the country upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavorable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity of party spirit.

680. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavored to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers clearly saw the fatal tendency of such dissensions, and they saw no way more likely to restore order, than by sending a person with extensive and discretionary powers, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs, and inquiring on the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorized to establish such form of government, as would be most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony.

681. Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge of the royal audience at Valladolid, was the man selected for this purpose, whose integrity, abilities, and firmness justified the choice. He had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting only in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country: but if Pizarro was

dead, he was intrusted with a commission he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru.

682. This attention to Pizarro seems to have flowed rather from a dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time the court seemed so cautious of irritating him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined in prison, for twenty years.

683. While Vaca de Castro was making preparations for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. Upon the death of Almagro, the governor considered himself the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, and proceeded to parcel it out among his own partisans, to the total exclusion of the followers of Almagro; amongst whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valor and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success: these murmured in secret, and meditated revenge: great numbers of them resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor permitted him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence.

684. The warm attachment of every person who had served under the elder Almagro, was quickly transferred to the son. When he had grown up to the age of manhood, he possessed all those qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. He was bold, open, generous, of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, he seemed formed for command. His father had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments he had acquired, increased the respect of his partisans, who were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement; they began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of their misery.

685. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. It was either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, that he replied, "Be not afraid about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment put him to death, who dares to harbor a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and bring to maturity every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the

lead in their consultations, with all the zeal that connexion inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendancy he had over the mind of his pupil gave him.

686. On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of June, 1541, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house, in complete armor, and drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king! but let the tyrant die!" Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations, ready to support them.

687. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived; yet, as he was just risen from table, and most of his own domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the stair-case, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall.

688. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francis de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey his prudent order; running to the top of the stair-case, he asked the conspirators "what they meant, and whither they were going?" Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there, in a fright, threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to escape; and a few, drawing their swords, followed their leader to an inner apartment.

689. The conspirators having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forwards. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half-brother Alcantara and a few friends, maintained the unequal contest with an intrepidity worthy his former exploits, and with the vigor of a youthful combatant: "Courage," cried he, "we are yet formidable enough to make these traitors repent their audacity." But the armor of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect.

690. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could not wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust

full in his throat, sunk to the ground and expired. As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran into the streets waving their bloody swords, and proclaiming the death of the tyrant. About two hundred of the associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in the government.

691. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers, who had at once the satisfaction of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

692. The popular qualities of Almagro and the success of the conspiracy drew many soldiers to his standard, who declared without hesitation in his favor. Almagro was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans of Peru. He appointed Herrada as general. Notwithstanding this favorable turn of fortune, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was much indebted, filled every impartial person with horror; and by others he was considered as an usurper; the officers who commanded in some provinces, refused to recognize his authority until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

693. Those seeds of discord acquired greater vigor when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long voyage, he put into a small harbor in the province of Popayan, in the year 1541, from thence he proceeded by a difficult and tedious route to Quito. In his way he received an account of Pizarro's death, and of the events following it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru. His jurisdiction was acknowledged by Benalcazar, lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, commanded the troops in Quito; who had himself gone upon a fruitless expedition to the east of the Andes, where he and his followers suffered incredible hardships.

694. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but showed that he possessed talents equal to the exigency of the momentous trust committed to him. By his influence

and address, he soon assembled a body of troops that set him above all fear of insult from the adverse party, and enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character.

695. Almagro observed the rapid progress of the spirit of disaffection to his cause; and that he might give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, where the most considerable body of troops had erected the royal standard under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the skilful guide of his youth, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for violence, and want of sagacity. Holguin, with far inferior forces, was descending to the coast, at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco. By a very simple stratagem he deceived his unexperienced adversary, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer who had been the first to declare against Almagro as an usurper.

696. Soon after, Vaca de Castro entered the camp with the troops which he had brought from Quito, and erected the royal standard before his own tent; he declared himself as governor; that he would discharge all the functions of general of the combined forces; and although he had not been brought up to the profession, he displayed the abilities and decision of an officer accustomed to command. As his strength was superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to end by a battle the contest which appeared unavoidable. Almagro and his followers, despairing of pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of Pizarro, the governor, were not inclined to shun that mode of decision.

697. They met, September the sixteenth, 1542, at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco. The violence of civil rage, the rancor of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair, inspired them with such courage, that victory remained for a long time doubtful; but at last declared for Vaca de Castro. The martial talents of Francis de Carvajal, a veteran officer, and the intrepidity of Vaca de Castro, triumphed over the bravery of their opponents, led on by young Almagro, with a gallant spirit, worthy of a nobler cause, and deserving a better fate.

698. Many of the vanquished, who had been accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rather than wait an ignominious doom, rushed on the swords of the enemy, and fell like soldiers. Of fourteen hundred men, the amount of combatants on both

sides, five hundred lay dead on the field; and the number of wounded was still greater. Vaca de Castro proceeded immediately to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer death as traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded at Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of his party, became extinct.

699. During these violent commotions in Peru, the emperor and his ministers were employed in preparing regulations by which they hoped to restore tranquillity, and a more perfect system of internal policy, into all their settlements in the New World. To prevent the extinction of the Indian race, called for immediate remedy; fortunately for them, Bartholomew de las Casas happened to be then at Madrid, on a mission from a chapter of his order at Chiapa. His zeal in behalf of this unfortunate people, was so far from abating, that, from an increased knowledge of their sufferings, his ardor had augmented. He eagerly seized this opportunity of reviving his favorite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians.

700. With that moving eloquence, natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld, had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World; the Indian race almost totally swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapidity. With a decisive tone, he imputed all this to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and positively insisted that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but declaring the natives free-men, and treating them as such. Not content with thus verbally asserting the rights of this oppressed people, he published a celebrated treatise, in which he related the horrid cruelties of his countrymen.

701. The emperor was deeply affected with the recital of so many actions shocking to humanity. To relieve the Indians, as well as to circumscribe the power of his own subjects in the New World, he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies, and the administration of justice, both ecclesiastical and civil.

702. These were approved by all ranks of men: but, with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm. "That as the repartimientos, or shares of land, seized by several persons, appeared to be excessive, the royal

audiences were empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: that upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: that the Indians shall henceforth be exempted from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labor in the mines, or dive in the pearl fisheries: that all persons who are or have been in public offices, ecclesiastics of every denomination, hospitals, and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them; these lands and Indians shall be annexed to the crown: that every person in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indians." All the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been intrusted with the direction of American affairs, opposed these regulations. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, persisted in his resolution of publishing the laws.

703. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigor and authority, he authorized Francis T. de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *visitador*, or superintendent of that country; and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing them. He appointed Blasco Nugnez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of viceroy; and to strengthen his administration, he established a court of audience at Lima, in which four eminent lawyers were to preside as judges.

704. The viceroy and superintendent sailed at the same time. An account of the new laws they were to enforce, had reached America before their arrival. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was considered as the prelude of general ruin. Under the prudent administration of Mendoza, the people of New Spain had become accustomed to the restraints of law and authority. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so well acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest, as well as what the people could bear; and Sandoval displayed a degree of moderation unexpected from a person entering upon the exercise of power.

705. They were disposed to grant every indulgence to the inhabitants that was in their power. In compliance with their request, they suspended for some time the execution of what was offensive in the new laws; they also consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe, to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain, with respect to their tendency and effects; and concurred with them in supporting their sentiments.

706. Charles, moved by the opinion of men, whose abilities and integrity were unquestionable, granted such a relaxation of the rigor of the laws, as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity. In Peru, the storm wore an aspect more fierce and threatening. As the account of the new laws spread through the different settlements, the inhabitants ran together; the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign, in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their possessions.

707. "Is this," cried they, "the recompense due to persons, who, without public aid, at their own expense, and by their own valor, had subjected to the crown of Castile territories of such vast extent and opulence? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, instead of receiving marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural consolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for subsistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers? Although we are not now able to explore unknown regions, in quest of more secure settlements, yet we still possess vigor sufficient to assert our just rights; and we will not tamely suffer them to be wrested from us." Consultations were held in different places, planning how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges; and prevent not only the execution, but the promulgation, of the laws.

708. Vaca de Castro had the address to divert them from their purpose; he flattered them with hopes, that when the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leisure to examine their petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavoring to procure some mitigation in the rigor of the laws, which had been framed without due attention to the state of the country, or the sentiments of the people. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, the viceroy possessed only integrity and courage: the former harsh and uncompromising, the latter bordering so frequently on rashness and obstinacy, that in his situation, they were defects rather than virtues.

709. When he landed, he seemed to have considered himself merely as an executive officer, without any discretionary power. Regardless of what he heard of the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigor. Through all the towns which he passed, he declared the natives free. Every person in public office was deprived of his lands and servants; and, as an example of obedience, he

would not suffer an Indian to carry any part of his baggage in his march from Tumbez to Lima.

710. Wherever he approached, amazement and consternation went before him. On entering the capital, he openly avowed, "that he came to obey the orders of his sovereign: not to dispense with the laws." This harsh declaration was accompanied with a haughty deportment, and an insolence of office, which rendered him odious to the people. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death, without a trial.

711. Vaca de Castro was arrested, and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit in having prevented a general insurrection of the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common jail. From the time the purport of the new regulations was known, every Spaniard in Peru turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they were threatened. From all quarters letters and addresses were sent to him, conjuring him to stand forth as their protector, offering to support him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes.

712. Gonzalo, though he wanted the talents of his brothers, was equally as ambitious, and of courage as daring. The behavior of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himself, dwelt continually on his mind. Ferdinand a state prisoner in Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and sent on board the fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen, in a country, for the discovery and conquest of which Spain was indebted to his family. These thoughts prompted him to seek for vengeance, and assert the rights of his family, of which he now considered himself the guardian and heir.

713. But the veneration which every Spaniard had for his sovereign, made him shudder at the thoughts of marching in arms against the royal standard. He hesitated long, and was still unresolved: when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of soon becoming a victim to the severity of the new laws, moved him to quit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy, as the deliverer of the colony.

714. In the fervor of their zeal they elected him procurator-general of the Spanish nation in Peru, to solicit the repeal of the late regulations; they also commissioned him to lay before the royal audience in Lima their remonstrances, and, upon pre-

text of danger from the Indians, authorized him to march thither in arms. Under sanction of this nomination, Pizarro took possession of the royal treasury, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Guamanga, and set out for Lima as if he had been advancing against a public enemy.

715. Disaffection having assumed a regular form, many persons of note resorted to Pizarro's standard; and a considerable body of troops which the viceroy had raised to oppose his progress, deserted. The violence of the viceroy's administration, and his overbearing haughtiness, had become so odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience, as well as to the people, that the judges thwarted every measure he proposed; and set at liberty the prisoners he confined; justified the malcontents, and applauded their remonstrances. The viceroy became at length so universally odious, that he was abandoned by his own guards, was seized in his palace, and carried to a desolate island on the coast, to be kept there until he should be sent home to Spain. This revolution took place while Pizarro was on his march to Lima.

716. The judges having now assumed the supreme direction of affairs, issued a proclamation suspending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and sent a message to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to dismiss his troops and repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. It was not expected that a man so daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition: but it was necessary to throw a decent veil over their conduct: Cepeda, president of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service.

717. Pizarro now beheld the supreme power within his reach; and Carvajal, the promoter and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his opinion, that it was the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. He, accordingly, demanded to be made governor and captain-general of the whole province, and required the judges to grant him a commission to that effect. But the judges, from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, hesitated about complying.

718. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction, obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audi-

ence issued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers civil as well as military; and he entered the town that day with great pomp, to take possession of his new dignity. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercise the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rise up to oppose him.

719. The viceroy had been put on board a vessel by the judges, in order that he might be carried to Spain under custody of Juan Alvarez, one of their own number: this man, as soon as he was at sea, touched with remorse, or moved by fear, fell at the feet of his prisoner, declaring him from that moment to be free, and that he would himself, and all persons in the ship, obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered them to steer to Tumbes, where he landed, erected the royal standard, and resumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons of note instantly avowed their resolution to support his authority.

720. Alarmed with these appearances of hostility, Pizarro prepared to assert the authority to which he had attained, and marched against the viceroy, as the enemy who was nearest and most formidable. As he was master of the public revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face him, retreated towards Quito, and from thence to the province of Popayan, whither Pizarro followed him; but finding it impossible to overtake him, he returned to Quito. From thence he dispatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, a bold and active officer, who had cut off his lieutenant-governor, in the province of Charcas. Centeno declared for the viceroy: and Pizarro remained at Quito.

721. Nugnez Vela, by his activity and the assistance of Benalcazar, assembled four hundred men in Popayan: with these he marched back to Quito, disdaining the advice of some of his followers, who endeavored to persuade him to send overtures of accommodation to Pizarro; he declared that it was only by the sword, that a contest with rebels could be decided.

722. Pizarro advanced resolutely to meet him. The battle was fierce and bloody; but Pizarro's veterans pushed forwards with such regular and well directed force, that they soon began to make an impression on their enemies. The viceroy by great exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and courage of a soldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds, and

the rout of his soldiers became general. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito.

723. The troops assembled by Centeno, were dispersed soon after, by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for several months, concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojosa, he had the unrivalled command of the South Sea: he had also possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him master of the usual avenue of communication between Spain and Peru.

724. After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito; and although they were transported with their victory, yet he and his confidants were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much solicitude, concerning the part he ought now to take. Carvajal had, from the beginning, warned Pizarro that in the career on which he was entering, it was in vain to think of holding a middle course; that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing.

725. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated to him in a letter, and in a tone still more peremptory: "You have usurped," said he, "the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to another. You have marched in hostile array, against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your sovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that a monarch will forgive such insults on his dignity; or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or sincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favor of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title, founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru, of any consequence, inviolably to your interest, by liberal grants of land and Indians; or by instituting ranks of nobility; or creating titles of honor, similar to those which are courted with so much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and distinctions like those in Spain, you may bestow a gratification upon the officers in your service, suited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your country only that you ought to attend; endeavor to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya or daughter of the sun, next in succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with

the Spaniards in supporting your authority. Thus at the head of the principal inhabitants of Peru as well as the new settlers there, you may set at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can send against you at such a distance."

726. Cepeda the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations. Pizarro listened attentively to both, and contemplated with pleasure the object they presented to his view. But happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing such daring schemes. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents, circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. He confined his views to obtaining from the court of Spain, a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and for that purpose he sent an officer of distinction thither, to represent his conduct in such a favorable light, as that the emperor might be induced to continue him in his present station.

727. While Pizarro was deliberating with respect to the part he should take, consultations were held in Spain concerning the measures which ought to be pursued: the court had received intelligence of the insurrection against the viceroy; of his imprisonment, and Pizarro's usurpation. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his party appeared so repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their sovereign, that the greater part of the ministers insisted on declaring them instantly guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with rigor. But innumerable obstacles presented themselves. The strength and glory of the Spanish armies were then employed in Germany. To transport any respectable body of troops so remote as Peru, appeared almost impossible, as the treasury had been drained of money to support the emperor's war in Europe.

728. Nothing therefore remained, but to attempt, by lenient measures, what could not be effected by force:—with this view they appointed Pedro de la Gasca, a priest and counsellor of the Inquisition, who had been employed by government in affairs of trust and confidence, and which he had conducted with ability and success; displaying a gentle insinuating temper, accompanied with firmness and probity, superior to any feeling of private interest, and a cautious circumspection in concerting measures, followed by such vigor in executing them, as are rarely found united with each other. These qualities marked him out for the function for which he was destined, and the emperor warmly approved of the choice. He was invested with un-

limited authority : and without money or troops, set out to quell a formidable rebellion.

729. On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, July 27, he found Herman Mexia, an officer of note, posted there by order of Pizarro, with a considerable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca came in such pacific guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect ; for he assumed no higher title than that of president of the court of audience in Lima.

730. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama ; and was treated with the same respect by Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had intrusted with the government of that town, and the command of the fleet stationed there. In both places he held the same language, declaring that he was sent by his sovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance ; that he came to redress all grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, and to re-establish order and justice in Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the sanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candor, gained credit to his declarations. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, were gained over to his interest, and waited only a decent pretext for declaring openly in his favor.

731. This the violence of Pizarro soon gave them. He sent a new deputation to Spain, to justify his conduct, and to insist, in the name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during his life. The persons intrusted with this commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama, and return to Spain. To Hinojosa they had secret instructions, directing him to offer Gasca fifty thousand dollars, if he would comply willingly with what was demanded of him ; and, if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off, either by assassination or poison.

732. Hinojosa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate resolution of setting himself in opposition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to execute the crimes pointed out in his secret instructions, publicly acknowledged the president as his only lawful superior. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been sent to Lima ; and, at the time when Pizarro expected to hear of Gasca's death, or

his return to Spain, he was informed that he was master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

733. Provoked almost to madness by an event so unexpected, he openly declared war; and to give some color of justice to his proceedings, he appointed the court of audience at Lima to try Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding on their voyage to Spain. Cepeda did not scruple to prostitute his dignity as judge, by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemned him to death on that account. Wild and ridiculous as this may appear, it was imposed on the low adventurers with which Peru was peopled, by the semblance of a legal sanction, warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted to his standard from every quarter, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

734. Gasca, on his part, seeing that force must be employed, was assiduous in collecting troops from different places, and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of soldiers, to the coast of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not for some time attempt to make any descent, yet they set ashore, at different places, persons with copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known everywhere the pacific intentions and mild temper of the president.

735. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, meditated revolt. Some openly deserted a cause they considered now as unjust. Centeno left his cave, and having assembled about fifty of his former adherents almost without arms, entered Cuzco by night, and though it was defended by five hundred men, he rendered himself master of that capital. Most of the garrison ranged themselves under his banners, and he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops.

736. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the most urgent, Pizarro instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for his soldiers, his march was rapid. But every morning he found his force diminished by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished, without mercy, all whom he suspected, the rage of desertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within sight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titi-

caca, he could only muster four hundred men. But those he considered as soldiers of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious, like himself, of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveness; and without any other hope but the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops, on the 20th of October, 1547, though double in number to his own.

737. The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had ever been fought in Peru. The intrepid valor and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents prevailed, and triumphing over numbers, a complete victory was gained. The booty was immense, and the treatment of the vanquished cruel.

738. By this signal success, the reputation of Pizarro was re-established, and being now considered as invincible in the field, his army increased daily. But this victory was more than counterbalanced by events which happened in other parts of Peru. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard; and Aldana, with a detachment of soldiers from the fleet, took possession of the town: at the same time Gasca landed at Tumbez with five hundred men; as his numbers augmented fast, he advanced into the interior of the country. His behavior still continued to be gentle and unassuming; he expressed on every occasion, his ardent wish of putting an end to the contest without bloodshed. He upbraided no man for past offences, but received them as a father receives his penitent children, returning to a sense of their duty.

739. Having appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the valley of Xauxa on the road to Cuzco, he remained there for some months, that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, and also that he might train his new soldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them to discipline, before he led them against a body of victorious troops. Pizarro, elated with success, and having now a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several officers, and Carvajal himself, gave it as their advice, to close with the president's offer, of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws.

740. Gasca having tried, in vain, every expedient to avoid embroiling his hands in the blood of his countrymen, on the 29th of December, advanced at the head of sixteen hundred

men, toward Cuzco. Pizarro, confident of victory, suffered the royalists to pass all the rivers without opposition, and to advance within four leagues of the capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation would render a retreat impracticable, and at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy. Carvajal chose his ground, and made a disposition of the troops, with the discerning eye, and profound knowledge of the art of war, which were conspicuous in all his operations.

741. As the two armies moved forward to the charge, on the 9th of April, 1548, the appearance of each was singular. Pizarro's men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America; every officer, and almost all the private men, were clothed in silk stuffs, or brocade embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, and standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. Himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishop of Quito, and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessing the men and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty.

742. When both were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president; several other officers of note followed his example. The revolt of persons of such high rank struck all with amazement. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank; some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms; but the greater number went over to the royalists. Carvajal, and some leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to stop them, but in vain; in less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers, who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans."

743. Dejected with such reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel; and with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers; Carvajal, endeavoring to escape, was overtaken and seized. Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded the day after he surrendered, on the 10th of April, 1548. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed

desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed.

744. The end of Carvajal was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence, adjudging him to be hanged, was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." In the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no signs of remorse for the past, or solicitude about the future, scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and pleasantry, as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate, but the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment. He was sent as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement. Thus all met the just punishment of their dreadful crimes.

745. On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity seemed to be perfectly re-established. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the president's attention. The one was to find such employment for the multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions; the other, to reward those, to whose loyalty and valor he was indebted for his success.

746. The former of these he accomplished by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river de Plata:—the reputation of these leaders, and the hopes of bettering their condition, allured many desperate soldiers to follow their standard, and drained Peru of a large portion of those inflammable and mutinous spirits whom Gasca dreaded. The latter was an affair of great difficulty, the claimants being numerous.

747. That he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merits of their several claims, he retired with the archbishop of Lima to a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he spent several days, in allotting to the claimants a district of land and a number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services.

748. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamor and rage which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of his decree, he set out from Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for

some days after his departure. As he expected, so it happened, but by his prudent management the discontented were appeased, and order was established.

749. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca longed to return to a private station. He committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain, on the 4th of February, 1549, where he was received with universal applause. Men less enterprising and desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of sober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru, and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there, as in any of the other Spanish colonies.

750. Notwithstanding the many reverses of fortune which the Peruvians had met with, their spirit of independence was not wholly subdued, for the Spanish viceroy, Toledo, was under the necessity of assembling an army in 1562, to make head against Tupac Amaru, the son of Manco Capac, who had taken refuge in the mountains. The Inca, being unable to resist successfully a regularly disciplined and numerous force, surrendered himself, with his wife and children, who were all carried prisoners to Cuzco. Tupac Amaru was brought to trial for supposed crimes, and sentenced to be beheaded, by persons who could assume no other control over his person, than what the laws of force and injustice claim over weakness. Previous to his execution, he was baptized in prison, thence led to the scaffold; and thus, amidst the tears of the people, expired the last of the Peruvian emperors. At the same time, all the sons of Indian women, by Spaniards, were put in confinement, on the charge of conspiring with Tupac Amaru to overthrow the Spanish government. Many of them were put to the torture, and others perished in exile, or in confinement.

751. Toledo, the barbarous author of these cruelties, after amassing a large fortune, returned to Spain, where he fell under the royal displeasure. His property was confiscated; his person confined, and he died of a broken heart. The royal authority was, after the death of Tupac Amaru, again established, and the general tranquillity has caused the history of the province to be barren of important incidents. During the 17th century, no event seems to have occurred worthy of commemoration. The year 1782 was marked by an insurrection of the Indians, under J. G. Condorcanqui, a descendant of Tupac Amaru, who assumed the same name. He had petitioned the Spanish court to restore to him the title of marquis of Oropesa, which had been granted to his ancestor, Sayu Tapac; but finding his re-

quest neglected, he retired to the mountains, and proclaiming himself INCA, the Indians flocked to his standard, and acknowledged his title with every mark of profound veneration and attachment.

752. Having collected an immense army, he proclaimed vengeance against the European Spaniards, promising protection to all born in America; but his followers, mindful of the cruelties which had been perpetrated upon them, spared none but Indians. Success, at first, attended all the operations of the Indians, who made themselves masters of several provinces; but, when the insurrection had continued about two years, Tupac Amaru was defeated and captured, with all his family:—a short time afterwards, they were all, except Diego, executed in the city of Cuzco, to the deep distress of the Indians, who thus beheld the end of the last of the children of the Sun. Diego, who had before made his escape, thought proper to surrender himself, and was allowed to live for a while unmolested with his family: but on suspicion of being concerned in a revolt that happened, some years afterwards, in Quito, he was tried and beheaded.

753. Nothing memorable occurred from this period, till the invasion of Spain by Napoleon:—in the early part of that contest, the viceroyalty of Peru was less agitated by revolutionary movements than any other part of the continent. The party in favor of adherence to Old Spain was, for some time, strong enough to prevent any change of government, and more than once aided the royalists in other provinces. When juntas were established, in 1809, in the cities of La Paz and Quito, the viceroy of Peru detached troops against them, which compelled the patriots to abandon their projects for a time.

754. In 1813, a strong force was sent from Peru against the republicans of Chili, and succeeded in reinstating the royal authority, after various engagements:—but in 1817, and the succeeding year, the tide of fortune was turned, and the victories of San Martin compelled the Peruvian army to evacuate Chili. Since that period, the Chilian republic has acquired sufficient strength to send a large military and naval force against Peru, and to compel the surrender of the capital. Lima capitulated to the liberating army in June, 1821; and, by a declaration published in the following month, the independence of Peru was declared to be the wish of the people. This event was soon afterwards followed by the surrender of the Spanish general, Rodill, who had strongly intrenched himself in Callao.

755. From this period, Peru remained in a state of general

tranquillity, till the battle of Tarqui, which was fought on the 27th of February, 1829, between 5000 Colombian troops, and 8000 Peruvians: the issue of it was, that the latter were defeated with considerable loss; but a convention for the cessation of hostilities was signed on the field of battle, and their mutual differences were referred to the arbitration of the United States' government.

756. On the 3d of April, the same year, general Bolivar issued a proclamation, complaining of the non-fulfilment by Peru of the convention concluded after the battle of Tarqui; and he announced his intention of reoccupying Guayaquil, and compelling the Peruvians to make peace. The war was accordingly renewed, and the Colombians gained a trifling naval advantage off the harbor of Guayaquil in May.

757. The republicans were disturbed by the intrigues of the Colombian party, and the ambitious of their own state, to such a degree, that the friends of Bolivar effected a revolution at Lima on the 6th of June, and general Gamarra was made President. On the 15th of July, a general armistice, or suspension of hostilities for seventy days, was agreed upon between the Colombians and Peruvians, at a place called Buijo, the headquarters of Bolivar; and the department of Guayaquil was placed at the disposal of the Colombian government. Since that time the Peruvians appear to have enjoyed both a physical and political tranquillity.

CHAPTER X.

REVOLUTION OF NEW GRANADA.—OF VENEZUELA.—OF THE
REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.—OF BUENOS AYRES.—OF CHILI.

758. Three centuries of bad government, under which the people of New Granada had labored, drove them to an assertion of their independence in the year 1816. The country has passed through many vicissitudes of fortune since that time: the cause of freedom and that of the royalists have been alternatively triumphant; and many frightful scenes of rapine and bloodshed have occurred. In May, 1816, a decisive action was fought between the Independents and a Spanish army under Morillo, which ended in the total defeat of the former, and the dispersion of the congress. After remaining under the dominion of the royalists for three years, Granada was again emancipated by the army of Bolivar, who entered Santa Fe in August, 1819. His successes since that period have been uniform and

brilliant; and at the beginning of the year 1822, the only point occupied by the Spanish armies was the isthmus of Panama.

759. CARACCAS, or VENEZUELA, remained in quiet subjection to the mother country, until 1806, when general Miranda, a native of Caraccas, made an unfortunate attempt to liberate her from the yoke. An expedition was fitted out at New-York, a landing was effected on the coast, but the force proved inadequate to the desired object. Many were taken prisoners by the Spanish authorities, and several suffered the penalty of death. The defeat was decisive, and gave an effectual blow, for some time, to the project of independence: but in 1810, Spain being overrun by the French troops, the opportunity was seized by the principal inhabitants, to form a republican system of government. For this purpose a congress was convened in Caraccas, composed of deputies from all the provinces, composing the former captain-generalship, with the exception of Maracaibo.

760. At first they published their acts in the name of Ferdinand the VII.; but the captain-general, and the members of the *audiencia*, were deposed and imprisoned, and the new government received the title of the confederation of Venezuela. The most violent and impolitic measures were now adopted by the regency and cortes of Spain towards the people of this district. The congress, finding the voice of the people decided in favor of independence, issued a proclamation on the 5th of July, 1811, formally proclaiming it. A liberal constitution was established, and affairs wore a favorable aspect for the cause of freedom, until the fatal earthquake of 1812, which, operating on the superstition of the people, led to a great change in the public opinion. Monteverde, a royalist general, taking advantage of the situation of affairs, marched against Caraccas, and, after defeating general Miranda, compelled the whole province to submit.

761. In 1813, Venezuela was again emancipated by Bolivar, who was sent with an army by the confederation of Granada: but in 1814, he was in his turn defeated by Boves, and compelled to evacuate Caraccas. In 1816, Bolivar again returned with a respectable body of troops, and was again defeated;—but undismayed by reverses, he landed again in December of the same year, convened a general congress, and defeated the royalists, in March 1817, with great loss. In the month following, Barcelona was taken by the Spanish troops; and the contest was maintained for some time afterwards with various success; and Bolivar was invested by the congress

with ample powers, the situation of the republic requiring the energy of a dictator.

762. On the 17th of December, 1819, an union between the republics of Granada and Venezuela was solemnly decreed, in conformity with the report of a select committee of deputies from each state. This confederation received the title of **REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA**. In conformity with the fundamental law, the installation of the general congress of Colombia took place on the 6th of May, 1821, in the city of Rosario, lat. 8° N. and 70° W. of London. The first measure considered by this body was the constitution, and it was finally determined that the two states should form one nation, under a popular representative government, divided into legislative, executive, and judicial. In the mean time, President Bolivar was actively engaged in bringing the war to a close. On the 24th of June, 1821, was fought the memorable battle of Carobobo, in which the royalist army was totally defeated, with the loss of their artillery, baggage, and upwards of 6000 men. At the beginning of 1822, only Porto Cabello, in Venezuela, and the isthmus of Panama, in New Granada, remained in the possession of the Spaniards; and at the close of the year, the president of the United States acknowledged their Independence, in his public message; since which time their envoys have been accredited and received by the United States, Great Britain, and France.

763. Notwithstanding these flattering events, the republic was distracted by political intrigues, and the various incidents attendant on a state of war; till, on the 26th of Sept. 1829, Venezuela separated itself from the republic of Colombia, and declared itself independent; placing general Paez at the head of affairs. On the 18th of March, 1831, its first congress met at Valentia, being composed of 15 senators, and 23 representatives.

764. In January, of the preceding year, the hero Bolivar resigned all his military and political offices; and an assembly of 47 deputies met at Bogota, for the purpose of forming a constitution for Colombia conformable to the spirit of the age. On the 25th of April, this new constitution was signed by the members of the congress, and likewise by the executive; three days previous to which, Urdaneta had endeavored to overthrow the then existing order of affairs.

765. On the 4th of May, 1830, the congress met, and elected J. Mosquera as their president; and seven days after, having formed such a republican constitution as coincided with their

wishes, they adjourned. But it was not destined to Colombia to enjoy repose, for on the 31st of the same month, general Flores issued a proclamation at Quito, declaring the south part of Colombia an independent government.

766. Party spirit was also carried to such excess, that general Sucre was assassinated within a few days after; and the civil war still raging, a battle took place between the partisans of the government and its opposers, in which the latter were victorious. On the 17th of December, 1830, the celebrated *Liberator* of Colombia died of a broken heart, aged only 47 years; Simon Bolivar was a man who deserved the eternal gratitude of his countrymen.

767. The death of their hero and chief did not produce peace in Colombia: for, on the 27th of April, the following year, we find that general Caicedo was invested with executive powers, in place of Urdaneta, and during the absence of the president, Mosquera.

768. BUENOS AYRES was erected into a viceroyalty in 1778, and from that period its trade progressively increased until the war between Spain and England, when a material interruption was given to it. No event, however, of great moment appears in its history, until July, 1806, when a British army, under general Beresford, suddenly invaded the country, and took the capital by surprise. The British enjoyed their triumph but a few weeks, when a small body of the militia, under command of general Liniers, invested the city, and forced them to surrender, on the 12th of August. Soon after the surrender of Beresford's army, about 5000 troops, under Sir Home Popham, arrived from the Cape of Good Hope; who, after taking fort Maldonado, at the mouth of La Plata, laid siege to Monte Video. The Spanish garrison made a resolute and glorious defence, and finally compelled the besiegers to withdraw disgracefully from the contest.

769. Sir Samuel Auchmuty arrived some time afterwards, and the number of the British bearing a vast superiority over that of the garrison, another attempt was made, and the town was finally carried by storm, after a defence which reflects the highest honor upon its little garrison. It was next determined by the British commanders to proceed against Buenos Ayres, as soon as certain reinforcements arrived. In May, 1807, these succors arrived under general Whitelocke, who assumed the chief command, and was joined, on the 15th of June, by general Crawford. The invading army now amounted to 12,000 men, all regular disciplined soldiers. On the appointed day they

embarked in boats, and sailing up the river, debarked below the capital. They were permitted to approach the town without molestation; but no sooner had they entered it, than they were received by the indignant inhabitants with one tremendous and well-directed fire of grape-shot and musketry. Every house was converted into a fortress, from which vengeance was poured out upon the invaders of the soil. The British troops were thrown into confusion, and endeavored to find safety in a disgraceful flight. General Whitelocke, finding that the patriotism of the people was not to be overcome, and having no means of escape, surrendered this formidable army prisoners of war to the militia of Buenos Ayres: and thus terminated the second British invasion of this province.

770. The important services which Liniers had rendered the people, elevated him to distinction. The viceroy Sobremonte was deposed, and the French general placed in his stead. The invasion of Old Spain, however, and the deposition of Ferdinand VII., produced a counter-revolution in the public opinion. Liniers was desirous of establishing the authority of the emperor Napoleon in America, as well as in Old Spain; but don Josef de Goyenoché, who had been sent out by the junta of Cadiz, caused the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres to proclaim Ferdinand: advising, at the same time, that a junta should be immediately formed. So powerful and well-concerted were his measures, that on the 1st of January, 1809, the people rose in all parts of the city, and demanded the establishment of a junta. They were, however, dispersed, and the leaders punished by the troops, who still remained faithful to Liniers.

771. This temporary triumph was not of long continuance; in August, 1809, Cisneros, the new viceroy, arrived from Spain, and Liniers was deposed by the junta, which now solemnly declared their rights. Liniers was then exiled to Cordova, but the spirit of insurrection had now spread itself too widely to admit of the new viceroy continuing long in the exercise of his functions. Commotion succeeded to commotion, and a provisional government assembled on the 26th of May, 1810, deposed the new viceroy and sent him to Spain. Against this measure the inhabitants of the interior provinces, and city of Montevideo, protested. Liniers formed an army in the neighborhood of Cordova, and another was assembled in Potosi, under general Nieto. To check these, a force marched from Buenos Ayres: Liniers and Nieto were defeated, and themselves and six of the principal officers beheaded.

772. These decisive measures did not extinguish the spirit

of disaffection to the cause of emancipation. A force was put in motion in Paraguay, under the governor Velasco; who was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to Buenos Ayres. Montevideo still remained faithful to the mother country; but in December, 1816, a body of Portuguese troops entered the Banda Oriental, and took possession of the city. All the principal places on the eastern shore of the Uruguay, and of the country between the Parana and the Uruguay, fell into their hands, and the province still remains in their possession. Buenos Ayres, though independent in fact, after the revolution of 1810, was not so in name. The junta professed allegiance to the court of Spain, and all decrees were issued in the name of Ferdinand VII.

773. On the 9th of July, 1816, the minds of the people being fully prepared for the event, a formal declaration of independence was made by the general congress. No opposition was made to the measure in Buenos Ayres, as no Spanish troops had remained there since 1810. But an unfortunate dissension broke out between the provinces on the east bank of the La Plata, and the general confederation, which arose from a dispute between the government of Buenos Ayres and general Artigas, one of the officers appointed to reduce Montevideo. The contest between them continued for several years, and many engagements took place, in most of which Artigas was successful. The province of Paraguay, likewise, though *professedly* favorable to independence, refused to make common cause with Buenos Ayres, and adopted a kind of non-intercourse with the whole world.

774. Since the declaration of independence, political revolutions have been frequent in Buenos Ayres. All parties, however, favor the cause of republicanism. The most important events in the recent history of this republic, are the annexation of the Banda Oriental to the kingdom of Brazil, and the recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres by the Portuguese government, by Great Britain and the United States in the year 1822.

775. Unfortunately for the prosperity of both countries, the war was continued for several years with varied success; during which period also Buenos Ayres was much distracted by the claims of rival chieftains, who aimed at establishing an absolute authority for themselves, in preference to a love for the welfare of their country. At length, on the 18th of June, 1830, a treaty of peace was ratified at Montevideo, by the governor, general Lavelleja, and general Rivera, by which the latter ac-

knowledge of the existing government ; and thus terminated the civil war. Since that period, they have been ruled with absolute sway by the dictator, Francia.

CHILI.

776. Little is known of the history of Chili, until the year 1450, when Upanquis, who governed Peru, having extended his empire to the borders of Chili, determined on attempting its subjugation : he accordingly dispatched one of his princes, who subdued the four northern tribes, and extended his conquests to the river Rapel, but was interrupted in his career by the Promancian tribe, and defeated in a sanguinary battle. The Peruvians, however, retained possession of their conquest till 1535, when the Spaniards first visited it. Almagro, having heard that Chili possessed great mineral riches, resolved to invade the country : he therefore collected 570 Spaniards, and 15,000 Peruvians ; and crossing the mountains, reached Copiapo ; the severity of the weather, the rugged nature of the road, and the almost unconquerable hostility of the Indians, made him lose 150 Spaniards, and 10,000 Peruvians, on his march.

777. The cruelties exercised by the Spaniards over the Chilians, produced such animosity in the minds of the aborigines, that Almagro and his adventurers grew disgusted, and returned to Peru in 1538. Two years afterwards, Pizarro, ambitious of extending his conquests, dispatched P. de Valdivia, with 200 of his countrymen, and a numerous body of Peruvians, accompanied by women, children, priests, and domestic animals, with the intention of settling such districts as he could reduce under his subjection.

778. Valdivia found the natives of Copiapo determined to oppose his entrance by force, the conduct of Almagro having convinced them of the perfidy of the Europeans ; yet he succeeded in overcoming their resistance ; and having conquered several districts, arrived with little loss in the country of Mapocho. Here he laid the foundation of a city, which he called Santiago, on the 24th of February, 1541. The Promancians having again assembled some forces, Valdivia marched to give them battle, but was no sooner gone than the Mapochians attacked the new settlement, and the inhabitants were obliged to take shelter in their fort, from the surrender of which they were relieved by the timely return of Valdivia.

779. Hostilities continued for six years, when he, in 1545, concluded a treaty, and an alliance with the Promancians, and visited Peru the following year. On his return, he brought with him a commission as governor, and a supply of soldiers and

stores. Having settled his power in the northern provinces of Chili, he turned his arms against the southern portion of the country, which he subdued after many severe struggles, and sanguinary battles with the Araucanians. The city of Imperial was founded under his auspices, and another which he called by his own name, in the territory of the Cunches Indians; after which he returned to Santiago.

780. While Valdivia was engaged at Santiago, in schemes by which he conceived his power might be confirmed, the Araucanians were preparing a force which totally overthrew it. Caupolicar, the chief of these warlike savages, having destroyed two of the Spanish settlements, advanced against Valdivia:—the armies met; a fierce contest ensued; victory at first inclined towards the Spaniards; but a young chief, who had been baptized, and employed as a page by Valdivia, suddenly deserted his standard; and putting himself at the head of his countrymen, renewed the attack with such vigor, that the Spaniards, and the Promancians, their allies, were cut to pieces, only two of the latter escaping. Valdivia himself was taken prisoner; and, while a council was deliberating on his fate, an old chief put an end to his existence with a club. He was succeeded in command by Villagran, who was again defeated by the Araucanians, and forced to retreat to Concepcion, which place he was obliged to abandon, and proceed to Santiago.

781. In 1557, Garcia de Mendoza, viceroy of Peru, sent his son with a large force to Chili, and the war was continued with great obstinacy on both sides until the year 1598, when a general insurrection of the Araucanians took place; and, assisted by their allies, they put to death every Spaniard whom they found outside the forts. The towns of Villanca, Valdivia, Imperial, and several others were taken, and Concepcion and Chillar were burned.

782. Preliminaries of peace were finally settled between the marquis of Baydes, governor of Chili, and the Araucanians, in 1641. This peace continued till 1655, when hostilities again broke out with their former fury, and continued ten years, with various success. At the end of this period, a formal treaty was made, and the conditions of it observed with more fidelity than the preceding compacts, for from this time to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the history of Chili presents little deserving of record.

783. Though tranquil for so long a space of time, the spirit of the Araucanians was not broken, nor was their aversion to the Spaniards abated. In 1722, a general conspiracy was

formed by the nations from the borders of Peru to the river Biobio. At a fixed moment, when the watch-fires were to blaze on the mountains, the Indians were to rise against the whites, and release the country from their yoke. The design, however, was rendered abortive, for only the Araucanians took up arms, and after a short contest, peace was again concluded.

784. In 1742, don Josef Manto, then governor, collected the colonists into towns, divided the country into provinces, and founded several new cities. In 1770, don Antony Gonzago gave rise to a new war, by attempting to compel the Araucanians to adopt habits of industry, and to associate in towns. The Pehuenches, allies of the Spaniards, were defeated by the Araucanians: many battles were fought, the most terrible of which took place in 1773, and caused prodigious slaughter. At length tranquillity was restored, one condition of which was, that the Araucanians should keep a minister resident at Santiago; a stipulation which proves their power and importance.

785. Chili enjoyed tranquillity during the remainder of the eighteenth century, and being relieved from the hostility of the Araucanians, agriculture and commerce, which had been greatly neglected, soon revived. The occupation of Spain by the French troops in 1809, caused a revolutionary movement in Chili, as well as in other parts of Spanish America. The party which espoused the cause of independence, was at first successful; but nearly the whole district was subdued by a royalist army from Peru in 1814.

786. Chili remained under control of the royalists, until 1817, when general San Martin, with a body of troops from Buenos Ayres, entered the country, and being joined by the generality of the people, defeated the royalists in several engagements. The independence of the country was finally achieved by the victory obtained at the decisive battle on the banks of the Maypo, in April, 1818, under generals O'Higgin and San Martin. A free constitution has been established, and from the courage and intelligence of the people, will probably be maintained. The arms of Chili have since been directed against Peru, with signal success; and the fall of Lima, in June 1821, attests the skill and bravery of San Martin and his republican army. No event of importance has occurred since this period to disturb the tranquillity of the Chilians.

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

CONJECTURES ON PEOPLING AMERICA—CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS—STATE OF THE BRITISH COLONIES —BRITISH IMPOSE DUTIES ON THE COLONISTS.

1. COLUMBUS, in his third voyage, having attained the great object of his ambition, by discovering the continent of America; his success produced a number of adventurers from all nations; the year before this, Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Henry the VII of England, discovered the Northern continent, of which it is intended now explicitly to treat. The questions which first present themselves to our notice are, from what part of the Old World has America been peopled? and how accomplished? Few questions in the history of mankind have been more agitated than these. Philosophers and men of learning and ingenuity have been speculating upon them ever since the discovery of the American Islands by Columbus. But notwithstanding all their labors, the subject still affords an ample field for the researches of the man of science, and for the fancies of the theorist.

2. It has been long known that an intercourse between the old continent and America, might be carried on with facility, from the north-west extremities of Europe and the north-east boundaries of Asia. In the year 982, the Norwegians discovered Greenland and planted a colony there. The communication with that country was renewed in the last century by Moravian missionaries, in order to propagate their doctrines in that bleak uncultivated region. By them we are informed that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable they are united; that the Uskemeaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders, in their aspect, dress, and manner of living; and that a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Uskemeaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language, and were, in every respect, the same people. The same species of animals are also found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare,

the deer, the roe-buck, and the elk, frequent the forests of North America, as well as those in the north of Europe.

3. Other discoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. From this part of the old continent also, inhabitants may have passed into the new; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture, that they have a common origin. This opinion is doubted by the celebrated doctor Robertson, in his History of America. The more recent and accurate discoveries of that illustrious navigator, Cooke, and his successor, Clerke, have brought the matter still nearer to a certainty.

4. The sea, from the south of Behring's strait, to the crescent of isles between Asia and America, is very shallow. It deepens from this strait, as the British seas do from that of Dover, till the soundings are lost in the Pacific Ocean; but that does not take place except to the south of the isles. Between them and the strait is an increase from 12 to 54 fathoms, only at Thaddeus-Noss, where there is a channel of greater depth.

5. From the volcanic disposition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a separation of the continents at the strait of Behring, but that the whole space from the isles to the small opening, had once been occupied by land; and that the fury of the watery element, assisted also by that of fire, had, in some remote time, subverted and overwhelmed the tract, and left the islands as monumental fragments.

6. There can be no doubt that our planet has been subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge: ancient and modern historians confirm this truth, that lands are now plowed, over which ships formerly sailed; and that they now sail over lands, which were formerly cultivated: earthquakes have swallowed some lands, and subterraneous fires have thrown up others: the sea retreating from its shores, has lengthened the land in some places, and encroaching upon it in others, has diminished it; it has separated some territories which were formerly united, and formed new bays and gulfs.

7. Revolutions of this nature happened in the last century. Sicily was once united to the continent of Naples, as Eubœa, now the Black sea, was to Bœotia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, say the same thing of Spain, and of Africa; and affirm, that by a violent irruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains of Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean sea was formed.

Among the people of Ceylon, there is a tradition, that a similar irruption of the sea separated their island from the peninsula of India; the same thing is believed by those of Malabar, with respect to the Maldivian isles; and by the Malayans, with respect to Sumatra.

8. The count de Buffon is certain, that in Ceylon the earth has lost 30 or 40 leagues, taken from it by the sea. The same author asserts, that Louisiana has only been formed by the *debris* of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and others, report innumerable examples of similar revolutions.

9. In the strait which separates America from Asia, many islands are found, which are supposed to be the mountainous parts of land, formerly swallowed up by earthquakes; which appears the more probable, by the multitude of volcanoes, now known in the peninsula of Kamtschatka. It is imagined, however, that the sinking of that land and the separation of the two continents, have been occasioned by those great earthquakes mentioned in the history of the Americans; which formed an era almost as memorable as that of the deluge. We can form no conjecture of the time mentioned in the histories of Toltecas, or of the year I. Tecpatl, when that great calamity happened.

10. If a great earthquake should overwhelm the isthmus of Suez, and there should be at the same time as great a scarcity of historians as there was in the first age of the deluge, it would be doubted in three or four hundred years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa; and many would firmly deny it.

11. Whether that great event, the separation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, it is impossible to determine: but we are indebted to the above mentioned navigators, for settling the long dispute about the point from which it was effected. Their observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent is only thirty-nine miles: and in the middle of this narrow strait there are two islands, which would greatly facilitate the passage of the Asiatics into the New World, supposing it took place in canoes, after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder.

12. It may also be added, that these straits are, even in summer, often filled with ice; in winter frozen over, so as to admit a passage for mankind, and by which quadrupeds might easily cross, and stock the continent. But where, from the vast expanse of the north-eastern world, to fix on the first tribes who contributed to people the new continent, now inhabited from end

to end, is a matter that has baffled human reason. The learned may make bold and ingenious conjectures, but plain good sense cannot always accede to them.

13. As mankind increased in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cause of migrations. No reason appears, why the Asiatic north might not be an *officina vivorum* as well as the European. The over-teeming country to the east of the Riphean mountains, must have found it necessary to discharge its inhabitants: the first great increase of people were forced forwards by the next to it; at length reaching the utmost limits of the Old World, they found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages: till Columbus, in an evil hour for them, discovered their country; which brought again new sins and new deaths to both worlds. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit, that America could receive its inhabitants, that is the bulk of them, from any other place than eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added, taken from the customs or dresses, common to the inhabitants of both worlds. Some have been long extinct in the old, others remain in both in full force.

14. The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about them at all times this savage mark of triumph. A little image found among the Calmucs, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin with scalps pendent from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the ancient Scythians, as described by the Greek historian. This usage, we well know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their prisoners, extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamtschatkans, even at the time of their discovery by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating torments; a practice now in full force among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were named Anthropophagi, from their feeding on human flesh: the people of Nootka Sound make a repast on their fellow creatures.

15. The savages of North America have been known to throw the mangled limbs of their prisoners into the horrible caldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped. The Kamtschatkans in their marches never went abreast, but followed one another in the same track: a similar custom is still observed by the uncultivated natives of North America. The Tungusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their skins with small punctures, in various shapes, with a needle: then rub them with charcoal, so that

the marks become indelible : this custom is still observed in several parts of South America.

16. The Tungusi use canoes made of birch bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely put together : the Canadian, and many other primitive American nations, use no other sort of boats. In fine, the conjectures of the learned, respecting the vicinity of the Old and New World, are now, by the discoveries of late navigators, lost in conviction : and in the place of an imaginary hypothesis, the place of migration is almost incontrovertibly pointed out.

17. This vast country extends from the 80th degree of north to the 56th degree of south latitude : and from the 6th to the 136th degree of west longitude from London, extending nearly nine thousand miles in length, and its greatest breadth three thousand six hundred and ninety ; it embraces both hemispheres, has two summers and two winters, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is washed by two great oceans : to the eastward it has the Atlantic, which separates it from Europe and Africa ; to the west it has the Pacific or Great South Sea, separating it from Asia. By these seas it carries on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the World.

18. Next to the extent of the New World, the grand objects which it presents to the view, must forcibly strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale, and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. The most elevated point of the Andes in South America, is twenty-four thousand one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea ; which is at least seven thousand higher than the peak of Teneriffe.

19. From the lofty and extensive mountains of America descend rivers, with which the streams of Europe, Asia, or Africa, are not to be compared, either for length, or for the vast bodies of water which they pour into the ocean. The Danube, the Indus, the Ganges, or the Nile are not of equal magnitude with the St. Lawrence, the Missouri, or the Mississippi, in North America ; or with the Maranon, the Orinoco, or the La Plata, in South America.

20. The lakes of the New World are not less conspicuous for grandeur than its mountains and rivers. There is nothing, in the other parts of the globe, which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in North America ; they might, with propriety, be termed inland seas of fresh water ; even those of the second

or third class, are of larger circuit, the Caspian sea excepted, than the greatest lake of the ancient continent.

21. Various causes have been assigned for the remarkable difference between the climate of the New continent and the Old. The opinion of the celebrated Dr. Robertson, on this subject, claims our attention. "Though the utmost extent of America towards the north, be not yet discovered, we know that it advances nearer the pole than either Europe or Asia. The latter have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold, than that which blows over land in the same latitudes. But in America, the land stretches from the river St. Lawrence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates; and is not entirely mitigated, until it reaches the gulf of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-westerly wind and excessive cold, are terms synonymous. Even in the most sultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces in that part of the globe."

22. Of the manners and customs of the North Americans, the following is the most consistent account that can be collected from the best informed, and most impartial writers. When the Europeans first arrived in America, they found the Indians almost in a state of nudity, except those parts which the most uncultivated savages usually conceal. Since that time, however, they generally use a coarse blanket, which they obtain of the neighboring planters, in exchange for furs and other articles. Their huts are made of stakes of wood driven into the ground, and covered with branches of trees or reeds. They lie on the floor, either on mats, or the skins of wild beasts.

23. Their dishes are of wood, and their spoons of the skulls of wild oxen, and sometimes of laurel, a hardy wood, very suitable for the purpose; their knives and hatchets are made of flint or other stone. A kettle, and a large plate, constitute almost the whole utensils of the family. Their diet consists chiefly of what they procure by hunting; and sagamite, or

pottage, is likewise one of the most common kinds of food. The most honorable furniture amongst them is a collection of the scalps of their enemies : with these they ornament their huts, which are esteemed in proportion to the number of this horrid sort of spoils.

24. The character of the Indians is only to be known by their circumstances and way of passing through life. Constantly employed in procuring a precarious subsistence, by hunting wild animals, and often engaged in war, it cannot be expected that they enjoy much gaiety of temper, or a high flow of spirits. They are therefore generally grave, approaching to sadness : they have none of that giddy vivacity, peculiar to some nations of Europe, but despise it. Their behavior to those about them is regular, modest, and respectful. They seldom speak but when they have something important to observe : and all their actions, words, and even their looks, are attended with some meaning.

25. Their subsistence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands ; and their lives, their honor, and every thing dear to them, may be lost by the smallest inattention to the designs of their enemies. As no particular object has power to attach them to one place, more than another, they go wherever the necessaries of life can be procured in the greatest abundance. The different tribes, or nations, when compared with civilized societies, are extremely small. These tribes often live at an immense distance ; they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable woods, and almost boundless forests.

26. There is in each society a certain kind of government which, with very little deviation, prevails over the whole continent ; their manners, and way of life, are nearly similar and uniform. An Indian has no method by which he can render himself considerable among his companions, but by his personal accomplishments, either of body or mind ; but as nature has not been very lavish in these distinctions, where all enjoy the same education, all are pretty much upon an equality, and will desire to remain so.

27. Liberty is therefore the prevailing passion of the American Indians ; and their government, under the influence of this sentiment, is perhaps better secured than by the wisest political regulations. They are very far, however, from despising all sort of authority : they are attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has conferred on the aged ; and they enlist under the banners of the chief, in whose valor and military ad-

dress, they have learned to repose a just and merited confidence.

28. Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief is naturally predominant : because the idea of having a military leader was the first source of his superiority ; and the continued exigencies of the state requiring such a leader, will enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than coercive ; he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice : and, one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from his humble throne.

29. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be considered as a mild and nominal aristocracy, have no more power. Age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority ; experience alone is the only source of knowledge among a savage people. Among the Indians, business is conducted with the utmost simplicity, and recalls to those who are acquainted with antiquity, a lively representation of the early ages.

30. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin, appointed for the purpose : here the business is discussed ; and here those of the nation distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying their talents. Their orators, like those of Homer, express themselves in a bold, figurative style, more strong than refined, with gestures violent, but natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be well provided with food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes ; the feast is accompanied with a song, in which the exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances, too, but chiefly of the military kind, like the Greeks and Romans, which inspire the younger with a martial spirit.

31. To assist their memory, they have belts of small shells (*wampum*) or beads, of different colors, each representing a different object, which is marked by their color or arrangement. At the conclusion of every subject on which they discourse, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of those belts ; for, if this ceremony should be omitted, all that they have said passes for nothing. These belts are carefully deposited in each town as the public records of the nation : and to them they occasionally have recourse, when any public contest happens with a neighboring tribe. Of late, as the materials of which those belts are made have become scarce, they often give some skin in the place of the wampum ; and receive

in return presents of a more valuable kind, from the commissioners appointed to treat with them; for they never consider a treaty of any weight, unless every article in it be ratified by some gratification.

32. It sometimes happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions whilst hunting. If there subsist no animosity between them, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner: but, if they happen to be in a state of war, or, if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends are deemed enemies, and they fight with the most savage fury.

33. War, hunting, and fishing are the principal employments of the men; almost every other concern is consigned to the women. The most prevailing motive with the Indians for entering into a war, if it does not arise from any accidental rencounter, is either to avenge themselves for the death of some lost friend, or to acquire prisoners, who may assist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society.

34. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or by the whole community. In the latter case, all the young men who desire to go out to battle, for no one is compelled contrary to his inclination, give a piece of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him. The chief who is to conduct the enterprise, fasts several days, and carefully observes his dreams during that time: which the presumption natural to savages mostly renders as favorable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitious ceremonies are observed.

35. The war-kettle is set on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies; which, among these nations, it is probable, was formerly the case; since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then they dispatch a cup or large shell to their allies; inviting them to join in the destruction of their enemies, and drink their blood; for like the ancient Greeks, they think that those in their alliance must not only adopt their quarrels, but that they must also have their resentments wound up to the same degree with themselves.

36. There are no people who carry their friendships or resentments so far as they do; this naturally results from their peculiar circumstances. The American Indians live in small societies, accustomed to see but few objects and few persons: to be deprived of these objects to which they are so closely

attached, renders them miserable. Their ideas are too confined to enable them to entertain just sentiments of humanity, or universal benevolence. But this very circumstance, while it makes them cruel and savage to an incredible degree, towards those with whom they are at war, adds a new force to their particular friendships, and to the common tie which unites the members of the same tribe, or those in alliance with them.

37. Without attending to this reflection, some facts which immediately follow would excite our wonder, without informing our reason; and we would be bewildered in a number of particulars, seemingly opposite to one another, without being sensible of the general cause from which they proceed.

38. Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, and the appointed day for setting out on their expedition having arrived, they take leave of their friends, and exchange their clothes, or whatever movables they have, in token of mutual friendship; after which they proceed from the town, their wives and female relations walking before, and attending them to some distance. The warriors march dressed in all their finery, and most showy apparel, without any order. The chief walks slowly before them, singing the war song; while the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver to them all their ornaments, and putting on their worst clothes, proceed on their expedition.

39. Every nation has its peculiar ensign or standard, which is generally a representation of some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle, and by those names the tribes are usually distinguished. They have the figures of those animals punctured and painted on several parts of their bodies; and when they march through the woods, they commonly, at every encampment, cut the representation of their ensign on trees, especially after a successful campaign; marking, at the same time, the number of scalps and prisoners they have taken.

40. Their military dress is very singular: they cut off, or pull out, all their hair, except a spot about the breadth of two crown-pieces, near the top of their heads, and entirely destroy their eye-brows: the lock left upon their heads, they divide into several parcels each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various kinds; the whole twisted into a form resembling the modern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eyes, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost around, and distended with wires or splinters, so as to meet and tie to-

gether at the nape of the neck ; these are also hung with some ornaments, and generally bear the representation of some bird or beast. Their noses are likewise bored, and hung with trinkets or beads, and their faces painted with various colors, so as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget, or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal ; and the scalping-knife hangs by a string from the neck.

41. The most approved qualities among Indians, in war, are vigilance and attention to execute and avoid surprise ; and indeed, in these arts they are superior to all other nations in the world. Accustomed to a continual wandering in the forests, their conceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living in every respect according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which, at first view, seems incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance, by the smoke of their fires which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet upon the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count with facility. It is said they can even distinguish the different nations to which they belong, and determine the precise time in which they passed ; when an European with the aid of glasses could not discover the least trace of a foot-step. These circumstances are of little importance, as their savage enemies are equally well acquainted with them.

42. When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing that might lead to a discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves, or to prepare their victuals ; they lie close to the ground during the day, when they draw near the residence of their enemies, and travel only in the night, marching along in files ; he that closes the rear, carefully covers the tracks of his own feet, and those who preceded him, with leaves. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy lies concealed.

43. In this manner they enter the villages of their foes ; unawares and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men ; or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprized of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. They then allow a part to pass unmolested, when all at once with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of arrows or musket-balls upon their foes.

44. The party attacked returns the same cry ; every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue, until the one party is so much weakened, as to be incapable of further resistance. But if the force on each side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They abandon their distant war, and rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches.

45. A cruel combat ensues, death appears in a thousand hideous forms, which would congeal the blood of civilized nations to behold ; but which rouses the fury of savages. They trample on, they insult the dead bodies, and tear the scalp from the head. The fury continues to rage till resistance ceases ; then they secure the prisoners, whose fate, if men, is a thousand times more unhappy than that of those who died in the field. The conquerors set up a hideous yell, to lament the friends they have lost.

46. They approach, in a melancholy gloom, to their own village ; a messenger is sent to announce their arrival, and the women, with frightful shrieks, come out to mourn their dead brothers, or their husbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates, in a low voice, to the elders, a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator then proclaims this account aloud to the people ; and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled.

47. The men too join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased, by blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory ; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes, and joins in the triumph of his nation ; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable transition, they pass, in a moment, from the bitterness of sorrow to an extravagance of joy.

48. But the manner in which they treat their prisoners, is the chief characteristic of the savages. The friendly affections which glow with an intense warmth within the bounds of their own villages, seldom extend beyond them. They feel nothing for the enemies of their nation but an implacable resentment. The prisoners who have themselves the same feelings, know the intentions of their conquerors, and are prepared for them. The person who has taken the captive, attends him to the cot-

tage, where, according to the distribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered to supply the loss of a relative.

49. If those who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family. But if they have no occasion for him, or their resentment for the loss of their friends be too high to endure the sight of any connected with those who were concerned in it, they sentence him to death. All those who have met with the same severe sentence being collected, the whole nation is assembled at the execution as for some great solemnity. A scaffold is erected, and the prisoners are tied to a stake, where they begin their death-song, and prepare for the ensuing scene of cruelty, with the most undaunted courage. Their enemies, on the other side, are determined to put it to the proof, by the most cruel and exquisite tortures.

50. They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach the more vital parts; one plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the mangled finger into the bowl of a pipe made red-hot, which he smokes like tobacco; then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull off his flesh, thus mangled, and roast it bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood; their passions increasing in horror and fury, they proceed to twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, while others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs in every direction so as to increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours, and sometimes, such is the constitutional strength of the savages, for days together.

51. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new tortures they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into such insensibility that they apply the fire to rouse him, and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to a stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with matches of a wood that easily takes fire, and burns but slowly, they run sharp reeds into every part of his body, they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, having burned his flesh from his bones with slow fires, after having mangled his

body in the most shocking manner, and so mutilated his face that nothing human appears in it, after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull, they once more unbind the miserable victim; who, blind and staggering with pain and weakness, is assaulted on every side with clubs and stones; and falling into their fires at every step, until one of the chiefs, out of compassion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life by a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this inhuman and horrid employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

52. The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, surpass the men in cruelty, and act like furies while this scene of horror is going on: the principal persons of the nation sit around the stake, looking on and smoking their pipes without the least emotion. But what is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes, appears unconcerned, and converses with his tormentors about indifferent matters. During the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest which shall succeed; they, by inflicting the most horrid pains, or he, by enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human; not a sigh, not a groan, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him: he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments: he recounts his own exploits: he informs them of the cruelties he has committed upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; that they were old women, who knew not how to put a warrior to death; and though his reproaches exasperate them to madness, he continues to insult them with their ignorance in the art of tormenting; pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men, and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for an European to suffer as an Indian.

53. Such is the wonderful power of an early intuition, and a ferocious thirst of glory. "I am brave and intrepid," says the savage in the face of his tormentors. "I neither fear death nor torments; those who fear them are cowards; they are less than women: life is nothing to those who have courage! may my enemies be confounded with despair and rage: oh! that I could devour them, and drink their blood to the last drop." But neither the intrepidity on one side, nor the inflexibility on the other, are matter of astonishment; for vengeance and fortitude, in the midst of torments, are considered as sacred duties with them; they are the effects of their earliest education, and

they depend upon principles instilled into them from their very infancy.

54. On all other occasions they are humane, and compassionate. Nothing can exceed the warmth of their affection towards their friends, who consist of all those who live in the same village, or are in alliance with them; among these all things are common; their houses, their provisions, and their most valuable articles are not withheld from a friend: has any one of these had ill success in hunting, his harvest failed, or his house burned, he feels no other effect of his misfortune, than it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his associates.

55. On the other hand, the Indian, to the enemy of his country, or his tribe, or to those who have privately offended him, is implacable. He conceals his sentiments; he appears reconciled, until, by some treachery or surprise, he has an opportunity of executing a horrid revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impenetrable forests, and traverses the most dismal swamps and deserts, for several hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the season, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians extend their friendship and their enmity; and such indeed is the character of all strong uncultivated minds.

56. The treatment of their dead shows, in glowing colors, the strength of their friendship, and warm attachment to their departed friends. When any one of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole; on this occasion, a variety of ceremonies are performed. The body is washed, anointed, and painted. Then the women lament the loss with hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased and his ancestors. The men mourn also, though in a less extravagant manner. The whole village is present at the interment, and the corpse is habited in the most sumptuous ornaments.

57. Close to the body of the deceased are placed his bow and arrows, and other weapons of war, with whatever he valued most in his life-time, and a quantity of provisions for his subsistence on the journey which he is supposed to take. This solemnity, like every other, is attended with feasting. The

funeral being ended, the relations of the deceased confine themselves to their huts, for a considerable time, to indulge their grief. After an interval of some weeks, they visit the grave, and repeat their sorrow, new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again all the solemnities of the funeral.

58. The most remarkable funeral ceremony is what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the assembly of their chiefs, who give the necessary orders for every thing that may conduce to the pomp and magnificence of its celebration; and the neighboring nations are invited to partake of the entertainment. At this time, all who have died since the preceding feast of the kind, are taken out of their graves: even those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages, are diligently looked for, and conducted to this general rendezvous of the dead, which exhibits a scene of horror beyond the power of description. When the feast is concluded, the bodies are drest in the finest skins which can be procured, and after being exposed for some time in this pomp, are again committed to the earth, with great solemnity, which is succeeded by funeral games.

59. Their taste for war, the most striking characteristic of an Indian, gives a strong bias to their religion. The god of war, whom they call Areskouï, is revered as the great god of their people. Him they invoke before they go into the field. Some nations worship the sun and moon, as symbols of the power of the great spirit. There are among them traditions of the creation of the world, of Noah's flood, &c. Like all rude nations, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad genii, or spirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happiness or misery. It is from the evil genii in particular they imagine all our diseases proceed; and it is to the good genii to whom we are indebted for a cure.

60. Their priests or jugglers are supposed to be inspired by the good genii, in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called in to the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to know the event, and in what way they must be treated. But these priests appear to be extremely simple in their system of physic; in almost every disease they prescribe the same remedy. The patient is inclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which a large stone is made red-hot; on this they throw water, the steam produces a profuse sudorific, they then hurry him from this hot bath, and plunge him instantly into the

adjacent creek or river. This method, although it costs many their lives, often performs many remarkable cures.

61. They are known, however, to have considerable knowledge in the vegetable kingdom, and the white inhabitants are indebted to them for the knowledge of many powerful plants as restoratives, and antidotes to the poison of reptiles, with which the woods in many parts of America abound.

62. Although the Indian women generally bear the laborious part of domestic economy, their condition among the tribes of North America is far from being so wretched, so slavish and depressed, as has been represented by Dr. Robertson and other writers. "Their employment," says Dr. Barton, "is chiefly in their houses, except when they are raising their crops of maize, or Indian corn, at which times they generally go out to assist their husbands and parents, but they are not compelled to do this." "You may depend on my assertion," says he, "that there are no persons who love their women more than these people do, or men of better understanding, in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or men more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to their women, tender, gentle, and fond, even to an appearance of effeminacy. An Indian man seldom attempts to use a woman of any description with indelicacy, either of action or language." I wish we could adopt the same language when speaking of the young men of the present age, who would think it a disparagement to be compared with the untutored savage of the wilderness.

63. In the hunting seasons, that is, in autumn and winter, when the men are out in the forest, the whole care of the house or family rests upon the woman; at these times they undergo much care and fatigue, as cutting wood, &c. but this labor is in part relieved by the old men, whose vigor is so far diminished as not to be able to sustain the fatigues of hunting, or the toils of martial achievements. But nothing shows the importance and respectability of the women among the Indians more than the custom many of the tribes observe, of letting their women preside in the councils of their country: to this we may add, that several of the Florida nations have been sometimes governed by the wisdom and prudence of female caziques.

64. Liberty, in its fullest extent, being the darling passion of the Indians, their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. Hence their children are never chastised with blows, and they are seldom even reprimanded. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they

come to the use of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great : but blows might damp their fierce and martial spirit, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or subordination ; even strong persuasion is avoided by those who have influence among them. No man is held in great esteem, unless he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hat with a scalp of one of his enemies.

65. Controversies among the Indians are few, and quickly decided. When any criminal matter is so flagrant as to become a national concern, it is brought under the jurisdiction of the great council ; but in common cases the parties settle the dispute between themselves. If a murder be committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer : and when this happens, which is but seldom, the kindred of the last person slain look upon themselves as much injured, and to have the same right to vengeance as the other party.

66. It is common, however, for the offender to absent himself ; his friends send compliments of condolence to those of the person who has been murdered. The head of the family at length appears, with a number of presents, the delivery of which he accompanies with a formal speech ; the whole ends as usual in mutual feasting, in songs, and in dances. If the murder be committed by one of the same family or cabin, that family has the full right of judgment within itself ; either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him ; or to oblige him to give some recompense to the wife and children of the deceased. Instances of this kind are very rare, for their attachment to those of the same family is so remarkably strong, that it may vie with the most celebrated friendships of fabulous antiquity.

67. Such, in general, were the customs and manners of the Indians : but almost every tribe has something peculiar to itself ; and perhaps, with respect to some of them, their ferocity may be abated, or their usages in some degree modified, by their intercourse with civilized men. Among the Hurons and the Natchez, the dignity of the chief is said to be hereditary, and the right of succession is in the female line. When this happens to be extinct, the most reputable matron of the tribe, we are informed, makes a choice of whom she pleases to succeed.

68. The Cherokees are governed by several Sachems, or chiefs, elected by the different villages, as are also the Creeks and the Chactaws : the two latter punish infidelity to the marriage bed in a woman by cutting off her hair ; which they will

not suffer to grow, until corn is ripe, the next season ; but the Illinois, for the same crime, cut off the nose and ears.

69. The Indians on the upper lakes are formed into a sort of empire. The emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is the Ottawas ; this authority is very considerable. A few years ago, the person who held this rank, formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations under his sovereignty ; but this bold attempt proved unsuccessful.

70. In general, the Indians of America live to a great age, although it is difficult to obtain from them an exact account of the number of their years. It was asked of one who appeared extremely old, what age he was of. "I am above twenty," said he ; but, upon putting the question in a different manner, and reminding him of former times, and some particular circumstances, "My *machee*," said he, "spoke to me when I was young, of the Incas : and he had seen those princes." According to this reply, there must have elapsed from the date of his *machee*'s or grandfather's remembrance to that time 232 years. The Indian who made this reply, appeared to be 120 years of age : for besides the whiteness of hair and beard, his body was almost bent to the ground ; without showing any other mark of debility, or suffering. This happened in 1764.

71. This longevity, and state of uninterrupted health, is thought by some to be the consequence, in part, of their vacancy from all serious thought and employment ; joined also with their robust texture, and formation of their bodily organs. Were the Indians to abstain from spiritous liquors, and their destructive wars, of all races of men who inhabit the globe, they would be the most likely to extend the bounds and enjoyments of animal life to their utmost duration.

72. Before we take our leave of the Indian natives, let us attend to some other accounts which will set their character in a clearer and stronger point of view, and rescue it from that degradation and obscurity, in which some Spanish historians have endeavored to envelop it.

73. Their friendships are strong, and faithful to the last extremity ; of which no farther proof need be adduced, than the following anecdote of the late colonel Byrd, of Virginia, who was sent to the Cherokee nation, to transact some business with them. It happened that some of our disorderly people had just killed one or two of that nation. It was therefore proposed in their council, that colonel Byrd should be put to death, in revenge for the loss of their countrymen. Among them was a chief called Siloue, who, on some former occasion, had con-

tracted an acquaintance and friendship with colonel Byrd. He came to him every night in his tent, and told him not to be afraid, for they should not kill him. After many days' deliberation, contrary to Siloue's expectations, the determination of the council was, that Byrd should be put to death; and some warriors were dispatched as executioners. Siloue attended them, and when they entered the tent, he threw himself between them and Byrd, and said to the warriors, "This man is my friend: before you get at him, you must kill me." On which they returned, and the council respected the principle so much as to recede from their determination.

74. Of their bravery and address in war, we have had sufficient proofs; of their eminence in oratory, we have fewer examples, because it is chiefly displayed in their own councils. One we have of superior lustre: the speech of Logan, a Mingoe chief, to Lord Dunmore, when governor of Virginia, at the close of a war in which the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares were united.

75. The Indians were defeated by the Virginia militia, and sued for peace. Logan disdained to be among the suppliants; but lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech to Lord Dunmore: "I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen, as they passed, pointed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries done by one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear; Logan never knew fear; he will not turn on his heel, to save his life. Who is left to mourn for Logan? not one."

76. Another anecdote in favor of the Indian character, related by Doctor Benjamin Franklin, deserves a place in this history. Conrad Weiser, a celebrated interpreter of Indian languages, who had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and

spoke the Mohawk language well, gave Franklin the following account.

77. He was sent by our governor on a message to the council at Onondago: he called at the habitation of Canassetago, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink; when he was well refreshed, and had lighted his pipe, Canassetago began to converse with him; asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other; whence he came, and what had occasioned his journey, &c. Conrad answered all his questions, and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs: I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and all assemble in the great house; tell me what it is for, and what it is they do there."

78. "They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," said the Indian, "that they tell you so, for they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany, to sell my skins and buy blankets, knives, powder, and rum. You know I generally used to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked what he would give for beaver. 'He said he would not give more than four shillings a pound, but I cannot talk on this business now, this is the day we meet together to learn good things; and I am going to the meeting.' So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said; but perceiving he looked much at me, and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too that the man had mentioned something about beaver, and suspected that it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out—'Well, Hans,' says I, 'I hope you have agreed to give me more than four shillings a pound.' 'No,' says he, 'I cannot give so much, I cannot give more than three shillings and six-pence.' I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song, three and six-pence, three and six-pence. This made it clear to me, that my suspicion was right;

and whatever they pretended, meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good things, they certainly would have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice, if a white man, travelling through our country, enter one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you ; we dry him if he be wet, we warm him if he be cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may satisfy his thirst and hunger ; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep upon ; we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house in Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they ask, where is your money ? and if I have none, they say, get out, you Indian dog ! You see they have not learned those little good things, that we need no meetings to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children ; and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect ; they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of their beaver."

79. I appeal to every sensible professor of Christianity, if there be not more force in the reasoning of this unlettered inhabitant of the wilderness, than in many of the elaborate discourses of the learned divines amongst us, though embellished with all the ornaments of modern elocution.

80. I shall close the Indian character with a short extract, with some small variations, from a letter of the justly celebrated William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania ; who, in the early part of the settlement of America, had an opportunity of observing their customs and manner of life, before they had been changed by so frequent an intercourse with Europeans. He describes their persons, manners, language, religion, and government in the following manner : " They are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion ; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin : of complexion, brown as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified ; and using no defence against the sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy : their eyes are little and black.

81. " I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, as on your side of the sea. An Italian complexion has not much more of the white ; and the noses of many of them have as much of the Roman. Their language is lofty, yet narrow : but, like the Hebrew, in signification, full ; like short-hand in

writing, one word serves in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion: and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that has words of more sweetness or greatness in accent and emphasis than theirs.

82. "Their children, as soon as they are born, are washed in water, and while young, they plunge them into rivers in cold weather, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a cloth, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board, to make it straight, and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will walk when very young, in general, at nine months; they wear only a cloth round their waist, till they are grown up: if boys, they go fishing, till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; they then hunt; and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry; otherwise it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something on their heads for advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, except when they please."

83. "Their houses are made of poles stuck in the ground, covered with mats and bark, in the fashion of an English barn; their beds are reeds, grass, or skins. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit the white inhabitants, their salutation is commonly, *Itah!* which is as much as to say, good be to you! and sit them down, which is mostly on the ground; sometimes not speaking a word, but observe all that passes."

84. "If you give them any thing to eat or drink, it is well, for they will not ask; and, if it be little or much, if it be with kindness they are well pleased; else they go away sullen, but say nothing. In liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend. Light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: they are the most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor do they want much. If they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are free from our pains. We labor and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling; and their ta-

ble is spread everywhere; they eat twice a day, morning and evening. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially to their children, to whom they are extremely attached."

85. "They are great concealers of their own resentments. A tragical instance happened since I came into the country:—A chief's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground and ate it; upon which she immediately died: and for which he, some time after, made an offering to her kindred, for atonement and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death: for until the widowers have done so they must not marry again."

86. "They believe in God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, 'There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and the souls of the good shall go thither; where they shall live again.' Their worship consists of two parts, *viz.* Sacrifice and Cantico. Their sacrifice is the first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill, they put on the fire, where he is all burned; and he that performs the ceremony sings, at the same time, a mournful ditty, but with such marvellous ferment, and labor of body, that he will perspire even to a foam. The other part is their Cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; and two, being the first that begin, by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus; their postures in the dance are very antic, and different, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness, but great appearance of joy."

87. "In the fall, when the corn is gathered in, they begin to feast with each other: there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will; I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they made up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and baked them in ashes; and after that they proceed to dancing. But they that go must carry a small present in their money (*wampum*), it may be six-pence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver."

88. This account of the natives, notwithstanding it, in some respects, differs from what has been observed by other writers, is valuable because derived from personal observation, and may

serve to establish the most prominent features of their character, as already exhibited.

89. Notwithstanding the many settlements of Europeans in this continent, some parts of America remain imperfectly known. The northern continent contains the British colonies of Hudson's Bay, Canada, New-Brunswick, and Nova Scotia : the United States—*viz.* Massachusetts, Maine, New-York, New-Jersey, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi Territory, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Northwestern Territory ; Louisiana, including the Island of New Orleans, purchased of the French, East and West Florida, New Mexico, California and Mexico : besides these there are immense regions to the west and north, inhabited by the Uskemeaux, the Columbians, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, the Chactaws, the Creeks, and many other tribes of Indians. Vast tracts of the inland parts are comprehended under the general name of Amazonia. A large district, also, inhabited by the aborigines, lies on the east side of the southern continent, between the Strait of Magellan and the province of Paraguay.

90. This vast country produces many of the metals, minerals, plants, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in other parts of the globe, and many of them in greater quantities, and in high perfection. America has supplied Europe with such large quantities of gold and silver, that these precious metals have become very much diminished in value to what they were before America was discovered : it also produces diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and amethysts.

91. Although the Indians still live in the quiet possession of many large tracts, America was chiefly claimed by three European nations, and divided into colonies, *viz.* the Spaniards, English, and Portuguese. The Spaniards, as they first discovered it, had the largest and richest portion. Next to Spain, the most considerable proprietor was Great Britain, who derived her claim to North America from the first discovery of the continent by Sebastian Cabot, in the name of Henry the seventh, in the year 1497, about six years after the discovery of South America by Columbus.

92. This country was, in general, called Newfoundland, until Americus Vespucius, a Florentine, who accompanied Ojeda, a Spanish adventurer, on a voyage of discovery : he having drawn up an entertaining history of his voyage, it was published and read with avidity. In his narrative he had the artifice to insinuate, that he was the first who discovered the New

World. Many of his readers gave credit to the insinuation, and from him it assumed the name of America. The original name of Newfoundland is now appropriated to an island on the north coast. It was a long time before the English made an attempt to settle in this country. Sir Walter Raleigh, an uncommon genius, and a brave commander, first led the way, by planting a colony, and naming it Virginia, in honor of queen Elizabeth.

93. The French, from this period, until the conclusion of the war in 1763, laid claim to Canada and Louisiana; and all that extensive country, reaching from Hudson's Bay, on the north, to Mexico, and the gulf of the same name, on the south. But in that war, they were not only driven from Canada, and its dependencies, but obliged to relinquish all that part of Louisiana lying on the east side of the Mississippi. Thus the British colonies were preserved, secured, and extended so far as to render it difficult to ascertain the precise bounds of empire in North America. To the northward they might have extended their claims quite to the pole, nor did any nation show a disposition to dispute the property of this northern country with them. From that extremity they had a territory extending southward to Cape Florida, in the Gulf of Mexico, in the latitude of 25° north: and consequently near 4000 miles long in a direct line; and to the westward, their boundaries reached to nations unknown, even to the Indians of Canada.

94. Of the revolution that has since taken place, by which a great part of these territories have been separated from the British empire, and which has given a new face to the western world, an impartial narrative shall be attempted. It will, however, be difficult to avoid some errors; the accounts from which the historian must derive his information, partake too much of prejudice, and the fabrications of party; and they want that amelioration which time alone can give.

95. The state of the British colonies, at the conclusion of the war in 1763, was such as attracted the attention of all the politicians in Europe. At that period, their flourishing condition was remarkable and striking: their trade had prospered and extended, notwithstanding the difficulties and distresses of the war. Their population increased: they abounded with spirited and enterprising individuals, of all denominations; they were elated with the uncommon success that had attended their commercial and military transactions. Hence they were ready for every undertaking, and perceived no limits to their hopes and expectations.

96. They entertained the highest opinion of their value and

importance, and of the immense benefit that Britain derived from its connexion with them; their notions were equally high in their own favor. They deemed themselves entitled to every kindness and indulgence which the mother country could bestow. Although their pretensions did not amount to perfect equality of advantages and privileges in matters of commerce, yet in those of government they thought themselves fully competent to the task of conducting their domestic concerns, without any interference from the parent state.

97. Though willing to admit the supremacy of Great Britain, they viewed it with a suspicious eye, and were solicitous to restrain it within its strict constitutional bounds. Their improvements in necessary and useful arts, did honor to their industry and ingenuity. Though they did not live in the luxuries of Europe, they had all the solid and substantial enjoyments of life, and were not unacquainted with many of its elegancies and refinements. Notwithstanding their peculiar addiction to those occupations, of which wealth is the sole object, they were duly attentive to promote the liberal sciences; and they have, ever since their first foundation, been particularly careful to provide for the education of the rising generation.

98. Their vast augmentation of internal trade and external commerce, was not merely owing to their position and facility of communication with other parts; it arose also from their natural turn and temper: full of schemes and projects; ever aiming at new discoveries, and continually employed in the search of means to improve their condition. This carried them into every quarter, whence profit could be derived; there was scarcely any port of the American hemisphere to which they had not extended their navigation. They were continually exploring new sources of trade.

99. To this extensive and continual application to commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the administration of their affairs at home. The same indefatigable industry was employed in cultivating the soil they possessed, and in the improvement of their domestic circumstances; so that it may be truly said, they made the most of Nature's gifts.

100. In the midst of this solicitude and toil in matters of business, the affairs of government were conducted with a steadiness, prudence, and lenity seldom experienced, and never exceeded, in the best regulated countries in Europe. Such was the situation of the British colonies, in general, throughout North America; and of the New-England provinces in particular, at the close of the war in 1763.

101. In treating of the American revolution, the English writers ascribe that event to the successful intrigues of the French government; they appear willing to search for the origin in any other source than their own misconduct. It has therefore been repeatedly asserted, "that the French, having long viewed with envy and apprehension the flourishing state of the colonies which Britain had founded in America, began, immediately after the peace of Paris, to carry into execution their design of separating the colonies from the mother country. Secret emissaries, it is said, were employed in spreading dissatisfaction among the colonists; and the effects produced by these machinating spirits, are described to have been a rapid diminution of that warm attachment which the inhabitants of North America had hitherto demonstrated towards the mother country."

102. That such emissaries were ever employed, is a fact unsupported by any document which the purity of historical truth can admit; and although the effects here described had certainly appeared, it must be remembered, that their appearance followed, but did not precede, the attempts of Britain upon the rights and liberties of North America.

103. That the French should succeed in the arts of intrigue, so far as to alienate the affections of the colonists from the mother country, and at the close of a war, in which their interests and feelings had been interwoven with more than usual strength and energy, was not in any sense probable. But if we trace these effects to another cause, to a love of liberty, and a quick sense of injury, their appearance will be natural and just; consistent with the American character, and corresponding with the conduct which was displayed in all the various changes that attended their opposition.

104. In March, 1764, a bill was passed in the British parliament, by which heavy duties were laid on goods imported by the colonists from such West-India islands as did not belong to Great Britain: and that these duties were to be paid into the exchequer, in specie; and in the same session another bill was framed, to restrain the currency of paper-money in the colonies. Not only the principle of taxation, but the mode of collection was considered as an unconstitutional and oppressive innovation, as the penalties incurred by an infraction of the acts of parliament, were to be recovered in courts of admiralty, before a single judge, whose salary was to be the fruit of the forfeitures he should decree.

105. These acts threw the whole country into a ferment.

Vehement remonstrances were made to the ministry, and every argument made use of that reason or ingenuity could suggest, but without any good effect; their reasoning, however, convinced a great number of people in Britain; and thus the American cause came to be considered as the cause of liberty.

106. The Americans, finding that all their remonstrances were fruitless, at last united in an agreement not to import any more of the British manufactures, but to encourage to the utmost of their power every useful manufacture among themselves. Thus the British manufacturers became a party against the ministry, and expressed their resentment in strong terms; but the ministry were not to be easily daunted; and therefore proceeded to the last step of their intended plan, which was to lay on stamp-duties throughout the continent.

107. Previous to this, several regulations were made in favor of the commerce of the colonies; but they had imbibed such unfavorable impressions of the British ministry, that they paid very little regard to any thing pretended to be done in their favor; or, if these acts had made any favorable impressions, the stamp-act at once obliterated every sentiment of that nature.

108. The reason given for this exceedingly obnoxious act, was, that a sum might be raised sufficient for the defence of the colonies against a foreign enemy; but this pretence was so far from giving satisfaction to the Americans, that it excited their indignation to the utmost. They not only asserted that they were abundantly able to defend themselves, but denied the right of the British parliament to tax them at all.

109. To enter into the arguments of the contending parties upon this occasion, would be superfluous. It was manifest that the matter was not to be decided but by the force of arms: and the British ministry, confident of the authority and power of their country, were disposed to carry on matters with such a high hand, as to terrify the colonists into submission, or compel them by force.

CHAPTER XI.

STAMP ACT PASSED.—AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT OPPOSED.—

TUMULT AT BOSTON.—TROOPS ARRIVE THERE.—BOSTONIANS DESTROY THE TEA.—MEETING OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.

110. The stamp act, after a violent opposition in parliament, was passed, and its reception in America was such as might have been expected. The news, and the act itself, first arrived

at Boston, where the bells were muffled, and rung a funeral peal. The act was first hawked about the streets, with a death's head affixed to it, and styled "*The folly of England, and the ruin of America.*" It was afterwards publicly burned by the enraged populace; the stamps were seized and destroyed, unless brought on board of men-of-war, or kept in fortified places. Those who were to receive the stamp duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as favored the government on this occasion, had their houses plundered and burned.

111. Though these outrages were committed by the multitude, they were connived at by those of superior rank, who afterwards openly patronized them; and the doctrine became general and openly avowed, that Britain had no right to tax the colonies without their own consent. The ministry now found it absolutely necessary, either to yield to the Americans, by repealing the obnoxious laws, or to enforce them by arms.

112. The ferment had become general through the colonies. Virginia first, and afterwards all the rest of the provinces, declared against the right of Britain to tax America; and, that every attempt to vest others with this power, besides the king, or the governor of the province, and his general assembly, was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. Non-importation agreements were everywhere entered into; and it was resolved, to prevent the sale of any more British goods after the present year.

113. American manufactures, though dearer, and also inferior in quality to the British, were universally preferred. An association was also entered into against eating of lamb, in order to promote the growth of wool; and the ladies agreed to renounce the use of every kind of ornament imported from Great Britain. Such a general and alarming confederacy determined the ministry to repeal some of the most obnoxious acts; and to this they were the more inclined by a petition from the first American Congress, held at New-York in 1765.

114. The stamp-act was therefore repealed, to the universal joy of the Americans, as well as to the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had begun to suffer in consequence of American associations against them. The disputes on the subject, however, were by no means silenced; every one continued to argue the case as violently as ever. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was, on this occasion, examined before the house of commons; and his opinion was, in substance, as follows: "That the tax in question was impracticable and ruinous. The very

attempt had so far alienated the affection of the colonies, that they behaved in a less friendly manner towards the natives of England than before, considering the whole nation as conspiring against their liberty, and the parliament as more willing to oppress than to assist and support them. America, in fact, did not stand in any need of British manufactures, having already begun to construct such as might be deemed absolutely necessary, and that with such success, as left no doubt of their arriving, in a short time, at perfection. The elegancies of dress had already been renounced for American manufactures, though much inferior; and the bulk of the people, consisting of farmers, were such as could in no way be affected by the want of British commodities, as having every necessary within themselves: materials of all kinds were to be had in plenty; the wool was fine, flax grew in great abundance, and iron was everywhere to be met with."

115. The Doctor also insisted, that "the Americans had been greatly misrepresented; that they had been traduced as void of gratitude and affection to the parent state; than which nothing could be more contrary to truth. In the war in 1755, they had, at their own expense, raised an army of 25,000 men; and that they assisted the British expeditions against South America, with several thousand men: and had made many brave exertions against the French in North America."

116. "It was said that the war of 1755 had been undertaken in defence of the colonies; but the truth was, that it originated from a contest about the limits between Canada and Nova Scotia, and in defence of the English rights to trade on the Ohio. The Americans, however, would still continue to act with their usual fidelity; and were any war to break out in which they had no concern, they would be as ready as ever to assist the parent state to the utmost of their power, and would not fail to manifest their ready acquiescence in contributing to the emergencies of government, when called to do so in a regular and constitutional manner."

117. The ministry were conscious that in repealing this obnoxious act, they yielded to the Americans; and, therefore, to support, as they thought, the dignity of Great Britain, it was judged proper to publish a declaratory bill, setting forth the authority of the mother country over the colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and statutes in all cases whatsoever. This much diminished the joy with which the repeal of the stamp-act was received in America. It was considered a proper reason to enforce any claims equally prejudicial with the stamp-

act, which might hereafter be set up : a spirit of jealousy pervaded the whole continent, and a strong party was formed, to guard against the encroachments of British power.

118. It was not long before an occasion offered, in which the Americans manifested a spirit of absolute independency ; and that instead of being bound by the British legislature in all cases whatsoever, they would not be controlled by it in the most trivial affairs. The Rockingham ministry had passed an act, providing the troops stationed in different parts of the colonies with such accommodations as were necessary for them. The assembly of New-York, however, took upon them to alter the mode of execution prescribed by the act of parliament, and to substitute one of their own.

119. This gave very great offence to the new ministry, and rendered them, though composed of those who had been active against the stamp bill, less favorable to the colonies, than they would otherwise have been. An unlucky circumstance at the same time occurred, which threw every thing once more into confusion. One of the new ministry, Charles Townshend, having declared that he could find a way of taxing America without giving offence ; was called upon to propose his plan. This was by imposing a duty upon tea, paper, painters' colors, and glass imported into America.

120. The conduct of the New-York assembly, respecting the troops, and that of Boston, which had proceeded in a similar manner, caused this bill to meet with less opposition than otherwise it might have done. As a punishment to the refractory assemblies, the legislative power was taken from New-York, until it should fully comply with the terms of the act. That of Boston, at last, submitted with reluctance. The bill for the new taxes quickly passed, and was sent to America in 1768. A ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp-act, now took place throughout the continent. The populace renewed their outrages, and those of superior stations entered into regular combinations against it.

121. Circular letters were sent from Massachusetts' colony to all the others, setting forth the injustice and impropriety of the behavior of the British legislature. Meetings were held in all the principal towns. It was proposed to lessen the consumption of all foreign manufactures, by giving proper encouragement to their own. Continual disputes ensued betwixt the governors and general assemblies, which were aggravated by a letter from lord Shelburne to governor Barnard, of Massachusetts Bay, containing complaints of the people he governed.

122. The assembly, exasperated to the highest degree, charged their governor with having misrepresented them at the court of Britain; required him to produce copies of the letters he had sent; and on his refusal, wrote letters to the English ministry, accusing him of misrepresentation and partiality, complaining at the same time most grievously of the proceedings of parliament, as utterly subversive of the liberties of America, and the rights of British subjects.

123. The governor, at a loss how to defend himself, prorogued the assembly, and in his speech on the occasion, gave loose to his resentment, accusing the members of ambitious designs, incompatible with those of dutiful and loyal subjects. To counteract the circular letter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, lord Hillsborough, secretary for the American department, sent another to the governors of the different colonies, reprobating that sent by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, as full of misrepresentation, and tending to excite a rebellion against the parent state.

124. Matters were now drawing to a crisis. The governor had been ordered to proceed with vigor, and by no means show any disposition to yield to the people as formerly. In particular, they were required to rescind that resolution by which they had written the circular letter above-mentioned; and in case of a refusal, it was told them the assembly would be dissolved. As this letter had been framed by the resolutions of a former house, they desired, after a week's consultation, that a recess might be granted to consult with their constituents; but this being refused, they came to a determination, 92 against 17, to adhere to the resolution which produced the circular letter.

125. At the same time a letter was sent to lord Hillsborough, and a message to the governor, in justification of their proceedings. In both they expressed themselves with such freedom, as was by no means calculated to accord with the views of those in power. They insisted they had a right to communicate their sentiments to their fellow-subjects upon matters of importance; complained of the requisition to rescind the circular letter, as unconstitutional and unjust; and insisted that they were represented as harboring seditious designs, when they were doing nothing but what was lawful and right. At the same time they condemned the late acts of parliament, as highly oppressive, and subversive of liberty. The whole was concluded by a list of accusations against their governor, representing him as unfit to continue in his station, and petitioning the king for his removal from it.

126. These proceedings were followed by a violent tumult at Boston. A vessel, belonging to a large merchant, had been seized in consequence of his having neglected some of the new regulations, and being taken under the protection of a man-of-war, at that time lying in the harbor, the populace attacked the houses of the excise officers, broke their windows, destroyed the collector's boats, and obliged the custom-house officers to take refuge in Castle William, on an island situated at the entrance of the harbor.

127. The governor now took the last step in his power to put a stop to the violent proceedings of the assembly, by dissolving it entirely ; but this was of little moment. Their behavior had been highly approved of by the other colonists, who had written letters to them, expressive of their approbation. After the dissolution of the assembly, frequent meetings were held by the people in Boston, which ended in a remonstrance to the governor, to the same purpose as some of the former ; but concluded with a request, that he would assume such authority as to order the king's ships out of the harbor.

128. While the disposition of the Bostonians was thus going on from bad to worse, news arrived that the agent of the colony had not been allowed to deliver their petition to the king ; it having been objected, that the assembly without the governor was not sufficient authority. This did not allay the ferment ; it was further augmented, by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe. A dreadful alarm now ensued ; the people called on the governor to convene a general assembly, in order to remove their fears of the military ; who, they said, were to be assembled to overthrow their liberties, and force obedience to the laws to which they were entirely averse.

129. The governor replied, it was no longer in his power to call an assembly, having, in his last instructions from England, been required to wait the king's orders ; the matter being then under consideration in England. Thus refused, the people took upon themselves to call an assembly, which they termed a convention.

130. The proceedings and resolutions of this body partook of the temper and disposition of the late assembly ; but they went a step further : and having voted, "That there is apprehension in the minds of many, of an approaching rupture with France," requested the inhabitants to put themselves in a posture of defence against any sudden attack of an enemy ; and circular letters were directed to all the towns in the province,

acquainting them with the resolutions that had been taken in the capital, and exhorting them to proceed in the same manner. The town of Hatfield alone refused its concurrence.

131. The convention thought proper, however, to assure the governor of their pacific intentions, and renewed their request, that a general assembly might be called: but being refused an audience, and threatened to be treated as rebels, they at last thought proper to dissolve themselves, and sent over to Britain a circumstantial account of their proceedings, with the reason for having assembled in the manner already mentioned.

132. On the very day the convention broke up, the troops arrived, and houses in the town were fitted up for their reception. Their arrival had a considerable influence on the people, and for some time put a stop to the disturbances; but the seeds of discord had taken such deep root, that it was impossible to quench the flame. The outrageous behavior of the people of Boston had given great offence in England; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of opposition, an address from both houses of parliament was presented to the king; in which the behavior of the colony of Massachusetts Bay was set forth in the most ample manner, and vigorous measures recommended for reducing them to obedience. The Americans, however, continued stedfast in the ideas they had adopted.

133. Though the troops had, for some time, quieted the disturbances, yet the calm continued no longer than they were formidable on account of their numbers; for, as soon as they were separated by the departure of a large detachment, the remainder were treated with contempt, and it was resolved to expel them totally. The country people took up arms for this purpose, and were to have assisted their friends in Boston; but before the plot could be put in execution, an event happened which put an end to every idea of reconciliation between the contending parties.

134. On the 5th of March 1770, a scuffle happened between the soldiers and a party of town's people; the inhabitants poured in to the assistance of their fellow-citizens; a violent tumult ensued, during which the military firing upon the populace, killed and wounded several of them. The whole province now rose in arms, and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William to prevent their being cut to pieces. But on the trial, notwithstanding popular prejudice and apprehension, the captain and six of the men were acquitted: two men only being found guilty of man-slaughter.

135. In other respects, the determinations of the Americans

gained strength ; until at last the government determining to act with vigor, and, at the same time, with as much condescension as was consistent with its dignity, without abandoning their principles, repealed all the duties laid ; that on tea alone excepted : and this, it was thought, could not be productive of any discontent in America, as being an affair of very little moment ; the produce of which was not expected to exceed sixteen thousand pounds sterling.

136. The oppositionists were strenuous in their endeavors to get this tax repealed ; insisting, that the Americans would consider it as an inlet to others ; and, that the repeal of all the rest, without this, would answer no good purpose : the event showed that their opinion was well-founded. The Americans opposed the tea tax, with the same violence as they had done all the rest ; and when they were informed that salaries had been settled on the judges of the superior court of Boston, the governor was addressed on the subject ; the measure was condemned in the strongest terms ; and a committee selected out of the several districts of the colony to inquire into it.

137. The new assembly proceeded in the most formal manner to disavow the supremacy of the British legislature, and accused the parliament of Great Britain of having violated the natural rights of the Americans, in a number of instances. Copies of the transactions of this assembly, were transmitted to every town in Massachusetts, exhorting the inhabitants to rouse themselves, and exert every nerve in opposition to the iron hand of oppression, which was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty.

138. These disturbances were also greatly heightened by an accidental discovery, that governor Hutchinson had written several confidential letters to persons in power, in England, complaining of the behavior of the people of the province, recommending vigorous measures against them, and asserting that "there must be an abridgment of what is called British liberty." Letters of this kind had fallen into the hands of the agent for the colony at London. They were immediately transmitted to Boston, where the assembly was sitting, by whom they were laid before the governor, who was thus reduced to a very mortifying situation.

139. Losing every idea of respect or friendship for him, as their governor, they instantly dispatched a petition to the king, requesting him to remove the governor and deputy-governor from their places : but to this they not only received an unfavorable answer, but the petition itself was declared groundless

and scandalous. Matters were now nearly ripe for the utmost extremities on the part of the Americans, and they were precipitated in the following manner.

140. Though the colonies had entered into a non-importation agreement against tea, as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheless found its way into America, though in smaller quantities than before. This was sensibly felt by the East-India Company, who had now agreed to pay a large sum annually to government; in recompense for which compliance, and to make up their losses in other respects, they were empowered to export their tea, free from any duty payable in England: and, in consequence of this permission, several ships freighted with this commodity were sent to North America, and proper agents appointed for taking charge of it.

141. The Americans, now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced, whether they were willing or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed; well knowing that it would be impossible to hinder the sale, should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned, to resign their offices; and to promise solemnly never to resume them; committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would not take them enemies to their country. Nor was this behavior confined to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; the rest of the provinces entered into the contest with the same warmth; and manifested the same resolution to oppose this invasion of their rights.

142. In the midst of this confusion, three ships arrived at Boston, laden with tea; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition of the people, that they offered, providing they could get the proper discharges from the tea-consignees, custom-house, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships would have been obliged to remain in the harbor; but the people, apprehensive that if they remained there, the tea would be landed in small quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavor to prevent it; resolved to destroy it at once.

143. This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the above-mentioned discharges had been refused, a number of people, dressed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and threw their whole cargoes into

the sea, consisting of three hundred and forty chests of tea ; after which they retired without making any further disturbance, or doing any other damage. No tea was destroyed in other ports, but the same spirit was manifested.

144. At Philadelphia, the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river ; and at New-York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed under the protection of a man-of-war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the people, to prevent its being sold.

145. The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Ministers, finding themselves everywhere insulted, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means ; and as Boston had been the principal scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to punish that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted, by a message from his majesty, with the undutiful behavior of the inhabitants of Boston, as well as all the colonies, recommending, at the same time, the most vigorous and spirited exertions to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its address promised a ready compliance : and the Americans now seemed to have lost many of their partisans.

146. It was proposed to lay a fine on the town of Boston, equal to the price of the tea which had been destroyed, and to shut up its port by armed vessels, until the refractory spirit of its inhabitants was subdued ; which, it was thought, must quickly yield, as a total stop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was strongly opposed on the same ground that the other had been ; and it was predicted that, instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of reconciliation.

147. The petitions against it were represented by the colonial agent, who pointed out the same consequence in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared the Americans never would submit to it ; but such was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly ; but would, finally, submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was proposed, for the impartial administration of justice, by such persons as might be employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this act it was provided, "That should any person acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not be able to obtain a fair trial in the province, they might be sent by

the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime."

148. These three bills having passed so easily, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which had not yet been settled upon any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions, and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above-mentioned were to be appointed by the crown; to be removed at its pleasure, and to be invested with every legislative power, except that of taxation.

149. No sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies, beyond the possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, "Whether they would accept them as usual, from the general assembly?" Four answered in the affirmative, but Peter Oliver, the chief justice, refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, being brought before the governor; the latter refused interfering in the matter; but as the assembly insisted on justice against chief justice Oliver, the governor thought proper to dissolve it.

150. In this situation of affairs, a new alarm was occasioned by the port bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the people; and, while these continued, the new governor, general T. Gage, arrived from England. He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office, as governor, was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant from Boston, in consequence of the late act.

151. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation, for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When the assembly met at Salem, they passed a resolution declaring the necessity of a general congress, composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order that they might take the affairs of the colonies under their consideration; and five gentlemen, who had been remarkable for their opposition, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. They then proceeded, with

all expedition, to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances which they labored under ; and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power ; they set forth the disregard that had been paid to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution : and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct such evil designs, recommending, at the same time, a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, until a redress of grievances could be procured.

152. Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed, on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem, in favor of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words : " By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit ; but Nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart ; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors."

153. It had been fondly hoped, by the ministerial party in England, that the advantages which other towns might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston, would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise ; but the words of the address above-mentioned seemed to preclude all hope of this kind ; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be altogether vain.

154. No sooner did intelligence arrive of the bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occasioned violent commotions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and resistance to the last had been recommended against such oppression. In Virginia, the 1st of June, 1774, the day on which the port of Boston was to be shut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public intercession in favor of America was recommended. The style of the prayer enjoined was, that " God would give the people one heart, and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights."

155. The Virginians did not content themselves with acts of religion only : they recommended, in the strongest manner, a general congress of all the colonies ; being fully persuaded

that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner, was an attack upon them all. The provinces of New-York and Pennsylvania were less sanguine than the rest, being so closely connected in the way of trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely, appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude, and not to be thought of until every other method had failed.

156. The intelligence of the remaining bills, respecting Boston, spread a fresh alarm through the continent, and fixed those who had appeared the most wavering. The proposal of giving up all commercial intercourse with Great Britain was again made; contributions for the relief of the inhabitants of Boston were raised in every quarter; and they received addresses from the other provinces commending them for the heroic courage with which they sustained their calamity.

157. The Bostonians, thus supported, did every thing in their power to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, which was called a solemn league and covenant. By this, the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communication with Great Britain after the expiration of the month of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor use any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connexion with those who did, or refused to subscribe to this covenant: threatening to publish the names of the refractory; which at this time was considered a serious punishment.

158. Agreements of a similar nature, were immediately entered into throughout all America: and although general Gage attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traitorous combination, threatening with the pains of the law, such as subscribed or countenanced it; yet it was now too late for proclamations to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality on his own proclamation, and insisted that the law allowed subjects to meet, in order to consider of their grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

159. Preparations were now made for holding a general Congress. Philadelphia, as being the most central and considerable town, was chosen as the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was composed, were elected by the representatives of each province, and were in number from two to seven from each colony, though no province had more than one vote.

160. The first congress which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September, 1774, consisted of fifty-one delegates.

The novelty and importance of the meeting excited universal attention ; and their transactions were such as rendered them respectable. The first act of Congress, was an approbation of the conduct of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants were strongly recommended, as they were reduced to great distress by the operation of the port-bill : and it was declared, that in case an attempt should be made to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston ; and should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove further up into the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expense.

161. They next addressed general Gage by letter ; in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces to support their brethren, and to oppose the cruel and oppressive British acts of parliament ; that they were appointed to watch over the liberties of America ; and entreated him to desist from military operations, lest such hostilities might be brought on, as would frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

162. The next step was to publish a declaration of their rights. These they summed up in the privileges belonging to Englishmen ; and particularly insisted, that as their distance rendered it impossible for them to be represented in the British parliament, their provincial assemblies, with the governor appointed by the king, constituted the only legislative power within each province. They would, however, consent to such acts of parliament as were calculated merely for the regulation of commerce, and securing for the parent state the benefits of the American trade ; but would never allow that they could impose any tax on the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue, without their consent.

163. They proceeded to reprobate the intention of each of the new acts of parliament ; and insisted on all the rights they had enumerated, as being unalienable ; and what none could deprive them of. The Canada act they particularly pointed out as being extremely inimical to the colonies, by whose assistance it had been conquered ; and they termed it, “ An act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and establishing a despotism there.”

164. They further declared in favor of a non-importation

and non-consumption of British goods, until the acts were repealed which laid duties upon tea, coffee, wine, sugar, and melasses imported into America, as well as the Boston port-act, and the three others passed in the preceding session of parliament.

165. The new regulations against the importation and consumption of British commodities, were then drawn up with great solemnity ; and they returned the warmest thanks to those members of parliament who had, with so much zeal, but without success, opposed the obnoxious acts of parliament.

166. Their next proceedings were to draw up a petition to the king, an address to the British nation, and another to the colonies, all of which being in the usual strain of American language, adopted for some time past, a repetition is deemed unnecessary. It is sufficient to say, they were executed in a masterly manner, both with respect to the style and composition, and ought to have impressed the people of England with more favorable sentiments of the Americans, than they were at that time willing to entertain.

167. All this time the disposition of the people had corresponded with the warmest wishes of congress. The first of June had been kept as a fast, not only throughout Virginia, where it was first proposed, but through the whole continent. Contributions for the relief of the inhabitants of Boston were recommended, and raised throughout the country. Even those who were most likely to derive the greatest advantages from the port-bill, with a generosity unequalled, refused to enrich themselves at the expense of their suffering neighbors. The inhabitants of Marblehead, who were among the number, though situated in the neighborhood of Boston, and most likely to receive benefit from the stoppage of their trade, did not attempt to avail themselves of it ; but so far from it, that they generously offered the use of their harbor, wharves, and stores, rent free.

168. In the mean time the British forces at Boston were continually augmenting, which greatly increased the general jealousy and disaffection ; the country people were ready to rise at a moment's warning ; and the experiment was tried, by giving a false alarm, that the communication was to be cut off between the town and country ; in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of parliament.

169. On this intelligence, the country people assembled in great numbers, and could not be satisfied, till they had sent messengers into the city, to inquire into the truth of the report.

These messengers were enjoined to inform the people in Boston, that if they should be so pusillanimous as to make a surrender of their liberties, the province would not think itself bound by such examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract subsisting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

170. The people in every other respect manifested their inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they had so long followed. The new counsellors and judges were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and properties from the fury of the multitude. In some places they shut up the avenues to the court-house; and when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but such as were appointed by the ancient usage and custom of the province.

171. They manifested, in every place, the most ardent desire of learning the art of war; and every one, who could bear arms, was most assiduous in procuring them, and learning the military exercise. Matters at last proceeded to such a height, that general Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land which joins the town of Boston to the continent. This, though a prudent measure in his situation, was exclaimed against by the Americans, in the most vehement manner; but the general, instead of giving ear to their remonstrances, deprived them of all power of acting against himself, by seizing the provincial powder, ammunition, and other military stores, at Cambridge and Charlestown.

172. This excited such indignation, that it was with the utmost difficulty the people could be restrained from marching to Boston, and attacking the troops. Even in the town itself, the company of cadets, that used to attend the governor, disbanded themselves, and returned the standard he had presented them to, on his accession to the government. This was occasioned by his having deprived the celebrated John Hancock, afterwards president of congress, of his commission of colonel of the cadets. A similar instance happened of a provincial colonel having accepted a seat in the new council, upon which twenty-four officers resigned their commissions in one day.

173. In the mean time, a meeting was held of the principal inhabitants of the towns adjacent to Boston; the purport of which was publicly to renounce all obedience to the late acts of parliament, and enter into an engagement to indemnify such as should be prosecuted on that account: the members of the new council were declared violators of the rights of their

country : all ranks and degrees were exhorted to learn the use of arms ; and the receivers of the public revenue were ordered not to deliver it into the treasury, but to retain it in their own hands until the constitution should be restored, or a provincial Congress dispose of it otherwise.

174. A remonstrance against the fortifications at Boston Neck was next prepared, in which they still declared their unwillingness to proceed to hostilities ; but asserting their determination not to submit to the acts of parliament they had already so much complained of. The governor, to restore tranquillity, if possible, called a general assembly ; but so many of the council had resigned their places, that he was induced to countermand its sitting by proclamation.

175. This measure was deemed illegal ; the assembly met at Salem ; and after waiting a day for the governor, voted themselves into a provincial congress, of which John Hancock was chosen president. A committee was instantly appointed, who waited on the governor concerning the fortifications on Boston Neck ; but nothing of consequence took place, both parties criminating each other.

176. The winter was now coming on, and the governor, to avoid quartering the soldiers on the inhabitants, proposed to erect barracks for them ; but the select-men of Boston compelled them to desist. Carpenters were sent for to New-York, but they were refused : and it was with great difficulty that he could procure winter lodgings for his troops. Nor was it with less difficulty that he procured clothes ; as the merchants of New-York told him, “ that they would never supply any article for the benefit of men sent as enemies to their country.” This disposition prevailing universally throughout the continent, was highly gratifying to congress.

CHAPTER XII.

COLONISTS PREPARE FOR WAR.—BATTLE AT LEXINGTON.—
ACTION AT BUNKER’S HILL.—THE CONFEDERATION APPOINT
WASHINGTON COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

177. It was expected that the ensuing spring would be the season of commencing hostilities, and the most indefatigable diligence was used by the colonists to be fully prepared against such a formidable enemy. Lists of all the fencible men were made out in each colony, and especially of those who had served in the former war ; of whom they had the satisfaction to find two-thirds were still alive, and able to bear arms. Maga-

zines of arms were collected, and money was provided for the payment of troops.

178. In vain the governors of the different provinces endeavored to put a stop to these proceedings by proclamations; the Rubicon was passed, the fatal period was now arrived; and the more the servants of government attempted to repress the spirit of the Americans, the more violent were their exertions.

179. At this time the inhabitants of Boston were reduced to great distress. The British troops, now commonly called the enemy, were in absolute possession of it; the inhabitants were kept as prisoners, and might be made accountable for the conduct of the whole colonies; various were the means contrived to relieve them from their disagreeable situation. It was proposed to remove the inhabitants altogether; but this was impracticable without the governor's consent: others recommended burning the town, after valuing the houses, and indemnifying the proprietors; but this was found equally impracticable; it was at last resolved to wait for some favorable opportunity, as the garrison was not very numerous, and not being supplied with necessaries by the inhabitants, might soon be obliged to leave the place.

180. The friends of the British government attempted to do something in opposition to the voice of the people: but after a few ineffectual meetings and resolutions, they were utterly silenced, and obliged to yield to superior numbers. Matters had now proceeded so far that the Americans, without further ceremony, seized on the military stores belonging to government. This first commenced at Newport, in Rhode Island, where the inhabitants carried off forty pieces of cannon, appointed for the protection of the place; and on being asked the reason of this proceeding, replied, "that the people had seized them, lest they should be made use of against themselves;" after this the assembly met, and resolved that ammunition and warlike stores should be purchased with the public money.

181. New-Hampshire followed the example of Rhode Island, and seized a small fort for the sake of the powder and military stores it contained. In Pennsylvania a convention was held, which expressed an earnest desire of reconciliation with the mother country; though at the same time declaring, in the strongest manner, that they were resolved to take up arms in defence of their just rights, and defend, to the last, their opposition to the late acts of parliament; and the people were exhorted to apply themselves with the greatest diligence to the prosecution of such manufactures as were necessary for their

defence and subsistence ; such as salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, and steel.

182. This was the universal voice of the colonies, New-York, only excepted. The assembly of that province, as yet ignorant of the fate of their last remonstrance, refused to concur with the other colonies in their determination to throw off the British yoke : their attachment was nevertheless very faint, and by the event, it appeared, that a perseverance in the measures which the ministry had adopted, was sufficient to unite them to the rest.

183. In the beginning of February, the provincial congress met at Cambridge, and as no friends to Britain could now find admittance into that assembly, the only consideration was how to make preparations for war. Expertness in military discipline was earnestly recommended, and several military institutions were established : among which that of the minute-men was most remarkable. These were chosen from the most active and expert among the militia ; and their business was to keep themselves in constant readiness, at the call of their officers ; from which perpetual diligence they derived their appellation.

184. It was now thought that a very slight occasion would bring on hostilities, for both parties were so much exasperated by a long course of reproaches, and literary warfare, that they were filled with the utmost inveteracy against each other.

185. On the 26th of February, 1775, general Gage, having been informed that a number of field-pieces had been brought up to Salem, dispatched a party to seize them. Their road was obstructed by a river, over which was a drawbridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let down : upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over, but the people cut out her bottom.

186. Hostilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman, who represented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of opposing such numbers ; and to the people on the other, that as the day was far spent, the military could not execute their design, so that they might, without any fear, leave them in the quiet possession of the drawbridge. This was complied with ; and the soldiers, after having remained some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

187. The next attempt was attended with more serious consequences. General Gage, understanding a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord,

a few miles from Boston, and where the provincial congress was sitting, sent a detachment, under the command of colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, to destroy the stores, and seize Hancock and Adams, two leading men of the congress.

188. They set out before day-break, on the 19th of April, marching with the utmost silence, and securing every one they met with upon the road, that they might not be discovered; but notwithstanding all their care, the continual ringing of the bells and firing of guns as they went along, soon gave them notice, that the country was alarmed: about five in the morning they had reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, where the militia of the place were exercising.

189. A British officer called out to them to disperse; but as they still continued in a body, he advanced, discharged his pistol, and ordered his men to fire; they instantly obeyed, killing and wounding several of the militia; the detachment then proceeded to Concord, where having destroyed the stores, they were encountered by the Americans, and a scuffle ensued, in which several fell on both sides.

190. The purpose of their expedition being accomplished, it was necessary for the king's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept up on them from Concord to Lexington. Here their ammunition was totally expended; and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a considerable reinforcement met them, commanded by lord Percy. The Americans continued the attack with great fury, destroying the British from behind stone fences, as they retreated: and had it not been for two field-pieces, which lord Percy brought with him, the whole detachment would have been cut off.

191. The impetuosity of the Americans being thus checked, the British made good their retreat to Boston, with the loss of two hundred and fifty killed and wounded; that of the Americans about sixty. The spirits of the Americans being raised by this engagement, and the power of Britain becoming less formidable in their view; they now meditated nothing less than the total expulsion of the troops from Boston.

192. An army of twenty thousand men was assembled; a line of encampment was formed from Roxbury to Mystic, through a space of about thirty miles; and here they were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under the command of general Putnam, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force was the town of Boston shut up: but General Gage had so strongly fortified it, that the Americans feared to make an attack.

193. Towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement having arrived, with the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he was soon enabled to attempt something of consequence: and this the boast of the provincials seemed to render necessary. Some skirmishing, in the mean time, happened on an island in Boston harbor; in which the Americans had the advantage, and burned an armed schooner.

194. Nothing decisive, however, took place, till the 17th of June. In the neighborhood of Charlestown, a place on the northern shore, opposite the peninsula on which Boston stands, is a high ground, called Bunker Hill, which overlooks and commands the whole town of Boston. On the 16th the provincials took possession of this place; and worked with such indefatigable industry that before day-light, to the astonishment of their enemies, they had almost completed a redoubt, with a strong intrenchment, reaching half a mile eastward, as far as the river Mystic.

195. After this, they were obliged to sustain a heavy and incessant fire from the ships and floating batteries, with which Charlestown neck was surrounded; as well as the cannon that could reach the place from Boston. In defiance of all opposition, they continued their work, and finished it before mid-day. A considerable body of infantry was then landed at the foot of Bunker Hill, under the command of generals Howe and Pigot, the former being appointed to attack the lines, and the latter the redoubt. The Americans having the advantage of the ground, as well as of intrenchments, poured down upon the British such incessant volleys as threatened the whole body with destruction; and general Howe was, for some time, left almost alone; all his officers being either killed or wounded.

196. The provincials, in the mean time, had taken possession of Charlestown, so that general Pigot was obliged to contend with them in that place, as well as with those in the redoubt. The consequence was, that he was overmatched; his troops were thrown into disorder, and he would, in all probability, have been defeated, had not general Clinton advanced to his relief: upon which the attack was renewed with such fury, that the provincials were driven beyond the neck that leads to Charlestown.

197. In the heat of the engagement, the British troops, in order to deprive the enemy of a cover, set fire to Charlestown, which was totally consumed; and, eventually, the Americans were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, which was incessantly raked by the fire of the Glasgow man-of-war, and

several floating batteries. The loss on the side of the British was computed at one thousand; among whom were nineteen officers killed and seventy wounded. The loss of the Americans did not exceed five hundred.

198. This was a dear-bought victory to the British. The Americans boasted that the advantage lay on their side, as they had so weakened the enemy, that they durst not afterwards move out of their intrenchments. This being the first time the provincials were in actual service, it must be owned they behaved with great spirit; and by no means merited the appellation of cowards, with which they were so often branded in Britain. In other places the same spirit appeared.

199. Lord North's conciliatory scheme was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey; and afterwards in every other province. The affray at Lexington determined the colony of New-York, which had hitherto continued to waver; and as the situation of New-York rendered it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women and children, and to set fire to the city, if it were found incapable of defence.

200. The exportation of provisions was everywhere prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to such other colonies in America, as should adhere to the British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of an army, and of a large paper currency, in order to support it.

201. In the inland northern colonies, colonels Eaton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from Congress, or communicating their design to any body, with a party of two hundred and fifty men, surprised the forts of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, and those that formed a communication between the colonies and Canada. On this occasion two hundred cannon fell into their hands, some brass field-pieces, mortars, and military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

202. After the battle of Bunker Hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and strengthened the rest in such a manner, that there was no hope of their being driven from thence; at the same time, their boldness and activity astonished the British officers, who had been accustomed to entertain a mean and unjust opinion of their courage.

203. The troops, shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to

distress. They were obliged to attempt carrying off the cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes ; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of the shores, landed on the islands, and destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the light-house at the entrance of the harbor, and took the workmen prisoners employed to repair it, as well as a party of marines sent to protect them.

204. Thus the garrison was reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels, to make prizes indiscriminately of all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for subsistence, as well as they could. The Congress in the mean time continued to act with vigor. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up, and solemnly agreed to ; by which they bound themselves and their posterity for ever, as follows :

ART. 1. " Each colony was to be independent within itself, and to retain an absolute sovereignty in all domestic affairs.

ART. 2. Delegates to be annually elected, to meet in Congress, at such time and place as should be enacted in the preceding Congress.

ART. 3. The assembly should have the power of determining war, or peace, making alliances, and, in short, all that power which sovereigns of states usually claim as their own.

ART. 4. The expenses were to be paid out of the common treasury, and raised by a poll-tax on males between 16 and 60, the proportions to be determined by the laws of the colony.

ART. 5. An executive council to be appointed to act in place of the Congress during its recess.

ART. 6. No colony to make war with the Indians without consent of Congress.

ART. 7. The boundaries of all the Indian lands to be ascertained and secured to them ; and no purchases of lands were to be made by individuals, or even by a colony, without consent of Congress.

ART. 8. Agents appointed by Congress should reside among the Indians, to prevent frauds in trading with them, and to relieve, at the public expense their wants and distresses.

ART. 9. This confederation to last until there should be a reconciliation with Britain ; or if that event should not take place, it was to be perpetual."

205. After the action of Bunker Hill, when the power of Great Britain appeared less formidable to the Americans than before, Congress proceeded to justify their proceedings, in a de-

claration drawn up in terms more expressive, and well calculated to excite attention. "Were it possible for men, said they, who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness as the objects of a legal domination, never to be resisted, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these colonies might, at least, require from the parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect on the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered to the attainment of that end.

206. "The legislature of Great Britain, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they knew to be peculiarly repugnant to the constitution of that kingdom, and despairing of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to law, truth, or right; have, by deserting those principles, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies, by violence; and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason, to arms. Yet, however blind that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause."

207. After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual and friendly intercourse betwixt that country and her colonies, and the remarkable success in the late war; they proceed as follows: "The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, look up to the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friend.

208. "These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emolument of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior, from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner, by his majesty, the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the intended in-

novations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and assuming a new power over them, has, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

209. "They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits: for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property: for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature, and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting murderers from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a disposition dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace.

210. "It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried. But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it was declared that parliament can, of right, make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single person who assumes it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

211. "We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament, in the most mild and decent language; but administration, sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

212. "We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would sup-

plant our liberty ; this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy ; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

213. "The lords and commons, in their address in the month of February, 1775, said that a rebellion, at that time, actually existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay ; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations, and engagements entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the colonies ; and therefore they besought his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature.

214. "Soon after, the commercial intercourse of these colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament ; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence ; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to general Gage. Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns in our favor."

215. After having reproached parliament, general Gage, and the British government, in general, they proceed thus : "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just : our union is perfect : our internal resources are great : and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.

216. "We fight not for glory or conquest ; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property, acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers, and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms ; we shall lay

them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed—and not before.”

217. These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of Congress on taking up arms against Great Britain. Without inquiring whether the principles on which it is founded be right or wrong, the determined spirit which it shows, ought to have convinced the ministry that the conquest of America was an event not reasonably to be expected. In every other respect an equal spirit was shown; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled rebels and traitors, succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled.

218. In passing the Quebec bill, the ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them on account of restoring the French laws, that they would readily join in any attempt against the colonists, who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms; but in this, as in every thing else, they found themselves much mistaken.

219. The Canadians having been subject to the British government for a period of fifteen years, and being thus made sensible of the superior advantages of the laws of that country, received the bill with evident marks of disapprobation; so far that they reprobated it as tyrannical and oppressive.

220. A scheme had been formed by general Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians wherewith to act against the Americans; and so sanguine were the hopes of administration, in this respect, that they had sent twenty thousand stands of arms and a great quantity of military stores to Quebec, for that purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immovable in their purpose to remain neuter. Application was made to the bishop; but he declined to use his influence, as contrary to the rules of the Catholic clergy; so that the utmost efforts of government in this province were found abortive.

221. The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, they universally replied, that they did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America, or those on the other side of the ocean, were in fault; but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another, and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren.

222. To representations of Congress they paid more attention. These informed them that the English, on the other side of the ocean, had taken up arms to enslave, not only their countrymen in America, but the aborigines also; and if they overcame the colonists, themselves would soon be reduced to slavery also. The savages, upon maturely weighing the subject, concluded to remain neuter; and thus the colonists were freed from a most dangerous enemy.

223. On this occasion congress held a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. A speech was proposed, which exhibits a specimen of the manner in which Europeans always address the aborigines of America.

“Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors!

“We, the delegates from the twelve united provinces now sitting in general congress at Philadelphia, send our talk to you our brothers.

“Brothers and Friends, now attend!

“When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk, promising them that they and their children should be his children, and if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy, and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the great water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children’s for ever, and at their sole disposal.

“Brothers and Friends open an ear!

“We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king George and the inhabitants of the colonies of America.

“Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us, and have torn asunder, and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us, they will put their hands into our pockets without asking, as though they were their own; and at their will and pleasure, they will take from us our charter, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses, and our goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. They tell us also, that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbors. Brothers, we live on the same ground with you; the same land is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other’s voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another.”

224. The other remarkable transactions of this Congress, were the ultimate refusal of the conciliatory proposal made by lord North, of which such sanguine expectations had been formed by the English ministry, and the appointment of a generalissimo to command our armies, which were now very numerous. The person selected for this dignified station was George Washington, a man universally beloved; he was elected Commander in Chief, by the unanimous voice of Congress, in 1775: and his subsequent conduct showed him every way worthy of it. Horatio Gates and Charles Lee, two English officers of considerable reputation, were also chosen; the former adjutant-general, the latter major-general. Artemas Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were likewise nominated major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were chosen brigadier-generals at the same time.

225. About this period Georgia sent deputies to congress expressing their desire to join the confederacy. The reasons they gave for renouncing their allegiance to Britain was, that the conduct of parliament towards the other colonies had been oppressive; and though the obnoxious acts had not been extended to them, they could view this only as an omission because of the seeming little consequence of their colony; and looked upon it rather as a slight than a favor. At the same time, they framed a petition to the king, similar to that sent by the other colonies, which met a similar reception.

226. The success which had hitherto attended the Americans now emboldened them to act offensively against Great Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared to be practicable, and would be attended with many advantages; and as Crown-Point and Ticonderoga were already in their hands, the invasion might be easily effected; they also supposed that Quebec might be reduced during the winter, before the fleets and armies should arrive, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain.

227. Congress, therefore, ordered three thousand men under the command of generals Montgomery and Schuyler to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorrel, a branch of the river St. Lawrence, and on which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand they were opposed by general Carleton, governor of Canada, a man of great activity and experience in war; who, with a small number

of troops, had been able to keep in awe the disaffected people in Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the colonists. He had now augmented his army with a number of Indians, and promised to make a formidable resistance even in his present situation.

228. When general Montgomery arrived at Crown-Point, he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. Johns, a strong fort on the Sorrel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake : on which he took possession of an island which commands the mouth of the Sorrel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with general Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. Johns ; but finding that place too strong, it was agreed in a council of war, to retire to Isle aux Noix, where general Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone.

229. His first step was to gain over the Indians, whom general Carleton had employed, and this he, in part, accomplished ; after which, on receiving the full number of troops appointed for the expedition, he determined to lay siege to St. Johns ; in this he was encouraged by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in the neighborhood, where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by general Carleton to relieve the place ; for which purpose he collected one thousand Canadians, while colonel M'Lean proposed to raise a regiment of the Highlanders, who had emigrated from their own country to America.

230. But while general Carleton was on his march with these new levies, he was attacked by the provincials, and defeated ; which being made known to Macdonald's party, they abandoned him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec. The defeat of general Carleton was considered as a sufficient recompense for that of colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened a short time previous to this.

231. The success of colonel Allen against Crown-Point and Ticonderoga had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal ; but the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars, entirely defeated him, and he was taken prisoner.

232. The garrison of St. Johns being informed of the defeat of general Carleton, and seeing no hope of relief, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. They consisted of five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many of the French nobility, who had been very active in promoting the cause of Britain among their countrymen. General Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from

passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually, that the whole were taken. The town surrendered at discretion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that general Carleton escaped in an open boat, favored by a dark night. No obstacle now remained to impede their progress to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; but these were very considerable.

233. It seems that nothing could damp the ardor of the provincials: although it was the middle of November, and the depth of winter at hand, colonel Arnold formed the design of penetrating through the woods and morasses, from New-England to Canada, by a nearer route than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who saw or heard of the attempt. A third part of his men, under another colonel, had been obliged to leave him by the way for want of provisions; the total want of artillery rendered his presence insignificant, before a place so strongly fortified; and the smallness of his army rendered it doubtful whether he could take the town by surprise.

234. The Canadians were amazed at the exploit; but none of them, as yet, took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown, was detrimental to the Americans, as it doubled the vigilance of the inhabitants to prevent any surprise: and the appearance of a common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were violently contending with one another. He was, therefore, obliged to content himself with blocking up the avenues of the town, with hopes of distressing the inhabitants for want of provisions; and even this he was not able effectually to accomplish, with so small a number of men.

235. Although the arrival of general Montgomery raised the spirits of his party, yet the small force he had, when joined to that of Arnold, was too weak to reduce a place so strongly fortified; he having only a few mortars and field-pieces, which were not to be depended upon.

236. The siege having continued through the month of December, general Montgomery, finding he could not accomplish his end any other way than by surprise, resolved to make the attempt on the last day of the year 1775. He advanced by break of day, in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which covered his men from the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himself and colonel Arnold; at the same time two feigned attacks were made in other places, hoping

thereby to distract the garrison, and divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the New-York troops, and the other by those of New-England, under Arnold. By a mistake in the signal for the attack being given too soon, their hopes of surprising the town were defeated.

237. General Montgomery himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged to pass between the river and some high rocks on which the upper town stands; so that he made all the haste he could to close with the enemy. His fate was soon decided. Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge of musketry and grape-shot from the second killed him, the principal officers, and most of the party he commanded: those who remained, immediately retreated. Colonel Arnold, in the mean time, made a desperate attack on the lower town, and carried one of the barriers, after an obstinate resistance for an hour: but in the action he was himself wounded, which obliged him to withdraw.

238. The attack, however, was continued by the officers whom he had left, and another barrier was forced: the garrison now perceiving that nothing was to be feared but from that quarter, collected their whole force against it: and after a desperate engagement for three hours, overpowered the provincials, and obliged them to surrender. Such a terrible disaster left no hope of the accomplishment of their purpose; as general Arnold could not muster more than eight hundred men under his command.

239. He did not abandon the province, but removed about three miles from Quebec, where he found means to annoy the garrison by intercepting their provisions. The Canadians still continued friendly, notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms; which enabled Arnold to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate. Congress, far from passing any censure on his conduct, created him a brigadier-general.

240. While hostilities were thus carried on in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in the other colonies. He dissolved the assembly, which, in this province, was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. The slaves in Virginia were so numerous, it was necessary that a militia should be kept constantly in readiness to keep them in awe.

241. During the dissolution of the assembly, the militia-laws expired, and the people, after complaining of the danger they

were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted that each county should raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, upon this, removed the powder from Williamsburg; which created such discontent, that an immediate quarrel would have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the supposed injury done to the community.

242. This tranquillity was soon interrupted; the people were alarmed by a report, that an armed party were on their way from the man-of-war, to where the powder had been deposited; they assembled in arms, determined to oppose any further removals.

243. In some of the conferences that passed at this time, the governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, and destroying the town of Williamsburg; which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in such a manner as greatly to increase the public ferment.

244. Assemblies of the people were frequently held. Some of them took up arms, with an intention to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their possession: but on their way to Williamsburg, they were met by the receiver-general, who became security for the payment of the gunpowder; and the inhabitants promised to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

245. The governor was so much intimidated by this insurrection, that he sent his family on board a man-of-war. He issued a proclamation, in which he declared the behavior of the person who provoked the tumult, treasonable; accused the people of disaffection, &c. The people recriminated: and some letters of his to Britain being discovered, consequences ensued nearly similar to those which had been occasioned by the letters of governor Hutchinson, of Boston.

246. The governor, in this state of confusion, thought it necessary to fortify his palace; and procured a party of marines to guard it. About this time lord North's conciliatory proposal arrived; and the governor used his utmost endeavors to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments were plausible: and, had not matters already gone to such a length, it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them. "The view," he said, "in which the colonists ought to behold this conciliatory proposal, was no more than an earnest admonition from Great Britain to relieve their wants; that

the utmost condescension had been used in the mode of application, no determinate sum having been fixed ; as it was deemed most worthy of British generosity, to take what they thought could be conveniently spared ; and likewise to leave the mode of raising it to themselves." But the clamor and dissatisfaction had now become so universal, that no offers from government would be attended to.

247. The governor had called an assembly, for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them : but it was unregarded. The assembly began their session by an inquiry into the state of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of the townsmen ; for which reason spring-guns had been placed there by the governor, which discharged themselves upon the offenders, at their entrance.

248. These circumstances, with others of a similar nature, raised such a violent uproar, that as soon as the preliminary business of the session was over, the governor retired on board a man-of-war, informing the assembly that he durst no longer trust himself on shore. This produced a long course of disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the governor to trust himself again at Williamsburg, even to give his assent to the bills which could not be passed without it, although the assembly offered to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his turn, he requested them to meet him on board the man-of-war, where he then was ; but this proposal was rejected, and all further correspondence containing the least appearance of friendship was discontinued.

249. Lord Dunmore, having thus abandoned his government, attempted to reduce, by force, those whom he could no longer govern. Some of the most zealous royalists, who had rendered themselves obnoxious at home, now repaired to him ; he was also joined by numbers of negro slaves. With these, and with the assistance of the British shipping, he was, for some time, enabled to carry on a predatory war, sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some considerable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence in Norfolk, where the people were better affected to Britain than in most other places.

250. A considerable force was collected against him, and the natural impetuosity of his temper prompted him to act against them with more courage than caution : he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his shipping, which was now crowded with numbers of those who had, by joining him, in-

curred the resentment of the provincials. In the mean time, a scheme was formed by colonel Conolly, a Pennsylvanian, attached to the cause of Britain; the first step of which was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians.

251. This he communicated to lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation, upon which Conolly set out and actually succeeded in his design. On his return, he was dispatched to general Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commission, and set out to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The general plan was, that he should return to the Ohio, where, by the assistance of the British and Indians in these parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But an accident, naturally to be expected, happened; he was discovered, taken prisoner, and confined.

252. After the retreat of lord Dunmore from Norfolk, that place was taken possession of by the provincials, who greatly distressed those on board lord Dunmore's fleet, by refusing to supply them with provisions. This proceeding drew from his lordship a remonstrance, in which he insisted that the fleet should be furnished with necessaries; but this request being denied, a resolution was taken to set fire to the town; after giving the inhabitants proper warning, a party landed, under cover of the men-of-war, and set fire to that part which lay nearest the shore; but the flames were observed, at the same time, to break forth in every other part of the town, and the whole was soon reduced to ashes.

253. This destruction occasioned a loss of more than three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and was extremely impolitic, as a great part of the property belonged to those who had manifested a warm attachment to the cause of Britain. In the southern colonies of Carolina, the governors were expelled and obliged to take refuge on board of men-of-war, as lord Dunmore had been; as was likewise governor Martin of North Carolina, on a charge of attempting to raise the back settlers, chiefly Scots highlanders, against the colony.

254. Having secured themselves from any attempt of these enemies, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns, in the same manner as the rest of the colonies; and by the end of the year 1775, the whole of America was united against Great Britain, in the most determined opposition; and of all her vast possessions known by the name of the thirteen United Provinces, she possessed only the single town of Boston, in which her forces were besieged by an enemy with whom they

were not able to cope, and by whom they expected, in a short time, to be expelled.

255. The situation of the inhabitants of Boston, was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, general Gage had consented to allow them to retire with their effects, but afterwards refused to fulfil his promise. When he resigned his place to general Howe in October, 1775, the latter, apprehensive that they might give intelligence of the situation of the British troops, strictly prohibited any person from leaving the place under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued until March, 1776, when the town was evacuated.

256. On the second of that month, general Washington opened a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was bombarded, with a heavy fire of cannon at the same time; and three days after, it was attacked by another battery from the eastern shore; this continued for fourteen days without intermission: when general Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined, if possible, to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack, on a hill called Dorchester-Neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner, as would have rendered the enterprise next to desperate.

257. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a sudden storm prevented an exertion, which must have been productive of a dreadful waste of blood. Next day, upon a more close examination of the works, it was thought advisable to desist from the attack; the fortifications being very strong, and well provided with artillery.

258. Nothing now remained for the British but to retreat; and to effect this, there appeared great difficulty and danger. But the Americans, knowing that it was in the power of the enemy to reduce the town to ashes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the least molestation; and for the space of a fortnight the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried with them two thousand of the inhabitants, who durst not stay on account of their attachment to the British cause.

259. From Boston they sailed to Halifax, but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the provincials. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker Hill and Boston Neck; and in the town an immense variety of

goods, principally of woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated, as also of those who had remained in the town, and who had shown a decided attachment to the British government.

260. An attack being expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had arrived at Boston; and so eager were the people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week to complete it the sooner.

CHAPTER IV.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—ARMAMENT SENT AGAINST CHARLESTON.—BATTLES OF LONG-ISLAND AND WHITE PLAINS.—ALSO AT PRINCETON.—AT BRANDYWINE.

261. The Americans, exasperated by the proceedings of parliament, which placed them out of the royal protection, and engaged foreign mercenaries in the plan of subduing them, now formally renounced all connexion with Britain, and declared themselves independent. This celebrated declaration was published on the fourth of July, 1776, and the preamble was as follows:

“When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

REASON I. “We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

REASON II. “That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers

in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

REASON III. "Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

REASON IV. "Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having for a direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

FACT 1. "He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

2. "He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

3. "He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

4. "He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. "He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the People.

6. "He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise : the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions from within.

7. "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization

of foreigners; refusing to pass others, to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

8. "He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

9. "He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

11. "He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislature.

12. "He has affected to render the military independent of the civil power, and superior to it.

13. "He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

14. "For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

15. "For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:—

16. "For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:—

17. "For imposing taxes on us without our consent:—

18. "For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:—

19. "For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:—

20. "For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it, at once, an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:—

21. "For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:—

22. "For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

23. "He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

24. "He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

25. "He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

26. "He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

27. "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

28. "In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a Free People.

29. "Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow their usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in warin peace, friends.

262. "WE, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States:—that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion, between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with

a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

263. Previous to this, a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reasons for it; and such was the animosity everywhere prevailing against Great Britain, that it met with general approbation, except in the province of Maryland. It was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest.

264. The manifesto itself was in the usual nervous style, stating a long list of grievances, for a redress of which they had often applied, but in vain; for these reasons they determined on a final separation; and to hold the people of Great Britain, as well as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war—in peace, friends."

265. After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength would be necessary to support their pretensions. Their arms had not been successful in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to general Arnold, who still continued to blockade Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to aid his operations.

266. Being sensible that he must either desist from the enterprise, or finish it successfully, he recommenced his operations in form, and attempted to destroy the shipping and burn the town. He succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs, and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading. Notwithstanding the provincials were unable to reduce the town, they kept the garrison in continual alarm, and in a very disagreeable situation.

267. Some of the nobility collected in a body under the command of a gentleman whose name was Beaujeau, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and defeated. The Americans had but little reason to plume themselves upon this success. Their want of artillery convinced them that it was impracticable to reduce a town so strongly fortified; the small-pox, at the same time, made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds.

268. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way with such

surprising celerity through the ice, that one part of the army was separated from the other, and general Carleton sallying out, as soon as his reinforcement was landed, obliged the Americans to fly with precipitation, leaving behind them all their military stores; at the same time their transports were captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose.

269. The provincials fled with such haste, they could not be overtaken; so that none fell into the hands of the British, except the sick and wounded. General Carleton now gave an instance of humanity: being well apprized that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the others in their retreat, and that they were concealed in the woods, in a very deplorable situation, he issued a proclamation, ordering persons to seek them, and give them relief at the public expense; and lest, through fear of their being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised, they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes, as soon as their situation enabled them.

270. The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these he was put at the head of twelve thousand regular troops; among whom were those of Brunswick. With this force he set out for the Three Rivers, where he expected Arnold would have made a stand; but he had retired to Sorrel, a place one hundred and fifty miles from Quebec; where he was met by the reinforcements ordered by Congress.

271. Here an attempt was made to surprise the British troops, posted under generals Fraser and Nesbit; the former commanded those on land; the latter, such as were on board the transports, and were but little way distant. The enterprise was very hazardous, because the main body of the British forces had advanced within fifty miles of the place; and a number of armed vessels, and transports with troops, lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand chosen men, under general Thompson, engaged in this undertaking. Their success was not answerable to their spirit and valor.

272. Though they passed the shipping without being observed, general Fraser had notice of their landing, and thus, being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder; at the same time general Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion, some field-pieces did prodigious execution; and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit was now between them and their

boats; so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, while they were pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side of it, till at last the fugitives were sheltered from further danger by a wood. Their general was taken, with two hundred of his men.

273. By this disaster, the provincials lost all hopes of accomplishing any thing in Canada. They, therefore, demolished their works and carried off their artillery with the utmost expedition. They were afterwards pursued by general Burgoyne, against whom it was expected they would have collected all their force, and make a resolute stand. But they were now too much dispirited by misfortune, to make any more exertions of valor. On the eighteenth of June, 1776, the British general arrived at Fort St. Johns, which he found abandoned and burnt. Chamblee had shared the same fate; as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up the river. It was thought they would have made some resistance at Nut-Island, the entrance to lake Champlain: but this also they abandoned; and retreated across the lake to Crown-Point, whither they could not be immediately followed.

274. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the provincials, whose loss in their retreat from Quebec, was calculated at not less than one thousand men, of whom four hundred fell into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about fifty miles from Montreal. General Sullivan, who conducted this retreat, after the affair of general Thompson, had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of Congress accordingly.

275. This bad success in the north was in some measure compensated by what happened in the southern colonies. It has been before noticed that governor Martin, of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province, and take refuge on board a man-of-war. Notwithstanding, he did not despair of reducing it again to obedience. He therefore, applied to the Regulators, a daring set of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent state; and though considered by government as rebels, yet had never been molested, on account of their known skill in the use of fire-arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and a colonel Macdonald was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, and collected some forces; expecting soon to be joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be on their way from Britain to act against the southern colonies.

276. The Americans, sensible of the danger, dispatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists: at the same time they exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. General Moore's numbers, at first, were inferior to Macdonald's, which induced the latter to hope that he might intimidate him to join the king's standard; with this intention he summoned him, under pain of being treated as a rebel, if he refused. But Moore being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to congress, they should be treated as friends, but if they persisted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment.

277. In a few days, general Moore found himself at the head of 8000 men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to 2000, and as they were destitute of artillery, they were prevented from attacking the enemy with success, when they had the advantage of numbers. Nothing now remained but to have recourse to a desperate exertion of their own personal valor; by dint of which they effected a retreat for eighty miles to Moore's Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by governor Martin and general Clinton, who had lately arrived with a considerable detachment.

278. Moore, with his army, pursued them so closely, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek, on the opposite side of which was colonel Caswell, with a considerable body of provincials posted to oppose his passage, with fortifications well planted with cannon. On attempting the creek, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged to have recourse to a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time entirely to destroy. However, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder, they had made the passage so difficult that the royalists could not succeed.

279. In this situation they were, on the 27th of February, 1776, attacked by Moore, and totally defeated, with the loss of their general, most of their leaders, and the bravest of their men. Thus was the power of the provincials established in North Carolina. Nor were they less successful in Virginia, where lord Dunmore, having long continued a predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in the province.

The people he had with him were distressed by confinement in small vessels: the heat of the season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havoc, especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in danger of perishing by famine and disease, they set fire to their vessels, reserving only about fifty for themselves, in which they bid adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West-Indies.

280. In South Carolina, the provincials had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A squadron, whose object was the reduction of Charleston, had been fitted out in December, 1775, but by reason of unfavorable weather did not reach Cape Fear in North Carolina till the month of May, 1776: and here it met with further obstacles to the end of the month. Thus the Americans had time to strengthen the works of Charleston in such a manner as rendered it difficult to be attacked.

281. The British squadron consisted of two fifty-gun ships, four of thirty guns, two of twenty, and an armed schooner, and bomb-ketch, all under the command of Sir Peter Parker. The land forces were commanded by lord Cornwallis, with generals Clinton and Vaughan. As they had no intelligence of the evacuation of Boston, general Howe dispatched a vessel to Cape Fear with some instructions; but it was too late; and in the beginning of June, the squadron anchored off Charleston bar. Here they met with some difficulty in crossing, being obliged to take out the guns from the two largest ships, which were several times in danger of running aground. The next obstacle was an unfinished fort on Sullivan's island, six miles east of Charleston: the British generals resolved to attack it; but though an attack was easy from the sea-board, it was difficult to obtain a co-operation of the land forces.

282. This was, however, attempted, by landing them on Long Island adjacent to Sullivan's Island on the east, from which it is separated by a very narrow creek, not above two feet deep at low water. Opposite to this ford, the provincials had posted a strong body of troops, with cannon and intrenchments; while general Lee was stationed on the main land, with a bridge of boats betwixt that and Sullivan's Island, so that he could, at pleasure, send reinforcements to the troops in the fort on Sullivan's Island.

283. So many delays occurred on the part of the British, that it was the 24th of June, 1776, before matters were in readiness for an attack; and, by this time, the provincials had provided for their reception. On the morning of that day, the

bomb-ketch began to throw shells into fort Sullivan, and about noon the two fifty-gun ships and thirty-gun frigates began a severe fire. The other frigates were ordered to take their station between Charleston and the fort, in order to enfilade the batteries, and cut off the communication with the main land; but through the ignorance of the pilots they all grounded: two were rendered unfit for service; and the third was burned, that she might not fall into the hands of their enemy.

284. The attack was therefore confined to the five armed vessels, and bomb-ketch, between which and the fort a dreadful fire ensued. The Bristol suffered excessively: the springs on her cable being shot away, she was, for a time, entirely exposed to the enemy's fire. As the provincials poured in great quantities of hot balls, she was twice in flames. Captain Morris, her commander, after receiving five wounds, was obliged to go below deck in order to have his arm amputated: after undergoing this operation, he returned to his station, where he received another wound, but still refused to quit his place; at last he received a shot, which instantly put an end to his life. Of all the officers and seamen who stood on the quarter-deck of this vessel, not one escaped without a wound, except Sir Peter Parker, whose intrepidity and presence of mind, on this occasion, were very remarkable.

285. The engagement lasted until the darkness put an end to it. Little damage was done by the British, as the works of their enemy lay so low, that many of the shot flew over; and the fortifications, being composed of palm trees, mixed with earth, were well calculated to resist the impression of cannon. At one period of the attack, the batteries of the provincials were silent, so that it was concluded they had been abandoned; but this was found to proceed from want of powder: for as soon as a supply of this article was obtained, the firing was resumed as brisk as before. During the whole of this engagement, it was found impossible for the British land forces to render any assistance to their fleet.

286. In this unsuccessful attempt, the loss of the British in killed and wounded was two hundred. The Bristol and Experiment were so much damaged, it was thought they could not get over the bar: but this they did accomplish by great exertion of naval skill, to the surprise of the provincials, who expected to have made them prizes. The Americans lost in this engagement but ten killed, and twenty-two wounded.

287. In the beginning of March, commodore Hopkins was dispatched by Congress, with five frigates, to the Bahama islands,

where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores ; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels ; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape, notwithstanding the efforts of the whole squadron.

288. Hitherto the Americans had been generally successful : they had now to experience misfortune, misery, and disappointment ; the enemy overrunning the country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New-York, being the most accessible by sea, was made the object of the main attack. The force sent against it, consisted of six ships of the line, thirty frigates, other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by lord Howe ; and his brother, general Sir William Howe, was to command the land forces. The latter arrived before his brother, and lay off New-York, but did not attempt hostilities, until he should be joined by him.

289. The Americans had fortified New-York, and the adjacent islands, in an extraordinary manner. General Howe, notwithstanding, was suffered to land his troops on Staten Island, where he was soon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, lord Howe arrived with the grand armament, and being one of the commissioners appointed to receive the submission of the colonists, he published a circular letter to the several governors, who had been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make public the extent of the powers he was invested with by parliament.

290. In this respect, the Congress saved him trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the newspapers, " That every one might see the insidiousness of the British ministry ; and that they had nothing to trust to, besides the exertion of their own valor."

291. Lord Howe next sent a letter to general Washington ; but as it was directed " To George Washington, Esq." the general refused to accept it, as not being in a style suited to his station. To obviate this objection, adjutant-general Patterson was sent with another letter directed " To George Washington, &c. &c." but though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, general Washington refused the letter, nor could any explanation of the adjutant induce him to accept of it. The only interesting part was that relating to the powers of the commissioners, of whom lord Howe was one.

292. The adjutant told him these powers were very exten-

sive; that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost to effect a reconciliation; and he hoped the general would consider this visit as a step towards it. General Washington replied, "It did not appear that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons: as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness; and was only defending her unquestionable rights."

293. The decision being now left to the sword, hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected; which was not before the month of August, when they landed without opposition on Long Island, opposite to the shore of Staten Island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was near a place called Flat-Bush; here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post; the left wing under general Grant, and the right under lord Percy, Cornwallis, and general Clinton. Putnam had ordered these passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed immediately with those that were near; but one of the most importance, laying at a distance, was neglected. Through this a large body of troops under lord Percy and Clinton, passed, and attacked the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Hessians in front.

294. Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Those who were engaged with the Hessians, first perceived the mistake, and retreated towards their camp; but the passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians, and were slaughtered between two parties, there being no way of escape but by forcing their way through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp.

295. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with general Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost, on this fatal day, August 27th, upwards of one thousand men, and two generals; several officers of distinction were made prisoners, with a number of privates. Among the slain, a regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut to pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound.

296. The ardor of the British troops was now so great, they could scarcely be restrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occasion, as it was

certain they could not be defended; but had the ardor of the soldiers been seconded, and general Howe pursued his victory, it might have given such a blow to the Americans, and such a turn to their affairs, that they would not have been able to regain that confidence in their own strength, they had hitherto maintained. Happily for us, the conquerors remained inactive.

297. Of the British and Hessians, about four hundred and fifty were lost in this engagement. As none of the American commanders thought it proper to risk another attack, it was resolved to abandon their camp as soon as possible. Accordingly, on the 29th of August, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over from Brooklyn to New-York, with the utmost secrecy and silence; so that, in the morning, the British had nothing to do but take possession of the camp and artillery which had been abandoned.

298. This victory, though complete, was far from being so decisive as the conquerors imagined. Lord Howe, supposing it would be sufficient to intimidate congress, sent general Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, to congress, with a message, importing, "that though he could not treat with them as a legal assembly, yet he would be glad to confer with any of the members in a private capacity;" stating, at the same time, the nature and extent of his power as commissioner.

299. But the congress were not at all inclined to derogate from the dignity of character they had assumed. They replied, "that the congress of the free and independent States of America, could not, consistently, send any of its members in any other capacity than that which they had publicly assumed; but as they were extremely desirous of restoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what proposals he had to make."

300. The committee, appointed by congress, was composed of Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge. They were very politely received by his lordship; but the conference proved fruitless. The final answer of the deputies was, "that they were willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that might conduce to the good of both nations: but they would not treat in any other character than that of Independent States." This positive declaration put an end to all hopes of reconciliation, and it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor.

301. Lord Howe, after publishing a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of congress; and that himself was willing

to confer with all well-disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquillity, set about the most proper methods for reducing the city of New-York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and, from a great number of batteries, kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East river, about twelve hundred yards in breadth, lay between them, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing.

302. At last the ships, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the batteries; a body of troops was sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here, having driven off the Americans by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city; but the provincials, finding they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retreated to the north of the island, where their principal force was collected. In their passage they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was observed they did not behave with that ardor and impetuous valor which had hitherto marked their character.

303. The British and American armies were now not above two miles from each other. The provincials, who lay directly opposite, had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; and, at the same time, were masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps: thus were they enabled to maintain their station against an army much more numerous than their own: they had also strongly fortified a pass called King's Bridge, on the northern extremity of the island, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune. Here general Washington, in order to inure the provincials to actual service, and, at the same time, to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed his troops in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed they recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

304. As the situation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient to the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige general Washington to relinquish his strong situation. A few days after New-York was evacuated by the Americans, a dreadful fire broke out, said to be occasioned by the licentious conduct of some of its new masters; and had it not been for the active exertions of the sailors and soldiery, the whole town probably would have been consumed; the wind being high, and the weather remarkably dry, about a thousand houses were destroyed.

305. General Howe, having left lord Percy with a sufficient

force to garrison New-York, embarked his army in flat-bottomed boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called Hurl Gate, and landed at Frog's Point, near the town of West-Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here, having received a supply of men and provisions, they moved, on the twenty-first of October, to New Rochelle, situated on the Sound which separates Long Island from the continent.

306. After this, still receiving reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the Americans very much, by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This general Washington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Brunx, a river of considerable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North River in his rear. Here the provincials continued for some time to skirmish with the royal army, until, by some manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them on the twenty-eighth of October, 1776, at a place called the White Plains, and drove them from some of their posts.

307. The success on this occasion was not so complete as on the former; however, it obliged the provincials to change their ground, and retreat further up the country. General Howe pursued them for some time; but finding all his endeavors to bring on a general action fruitless, he determined to give over the pursuit, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the Americans still retained in the neighborhood of New-York.

308. Fort Washington was the only post the Americans then held on New-York island, and was under the command of colonel Magaw. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first, on the north side, was led on by general Knyphausen: the second, on the east, by general Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis: the third was under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Sterling: and the fourth by lord Percy. The troops under Knyphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood, which was occupied by Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and suffered very much from their well-directed fire.

309. During this attack, a body of British light-infantry advanced against a party of the Americans, who were annoying them from behind rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Percy carried an advance work on his side; and

lieutenant-colonel Sterling forced his way up a steep ascent and took one hundred and seventy prisoners. Their outworks being carried, the Americans left their lines, and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rahl, who led the right column of Knyphausen's attack, pushed forwards, and lodged his column within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column. On Nov. 16th, the garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side-arms. The number of prisoners amounted to two thousand seven hundred. The loss of the British army was also considerable.

310. Shortly after the surrender of fort Washington, fort Lee, situated on the opposite shore of the North River, was evacuated by the Americans at the approach of lord Cornwallis; and at the expense of their artillery and stores. Fort Lee being evacuated by the Americans, the Jerseys lay open to the incursions of the British troops, and was so entirely taken possession of by the royal army, that their winter-quarters extended from New-Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it was thought Philadelphia would have fallen into their hands: but all these had been carefully removed by the Americans.

311. Instead of this enterprise, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode-Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was also attended with this advantage to him; the American fleet, under commodore Hopkins, was obliged to sail so far up Providence river, that it was entirely useless. The same ill success attended the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point: here they remained for some time, in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake; and consequently general Burgoyne could not pursue them.

312. To remedy this deficiency, there was no other method but to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This was effected in the space of three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels: by which means, he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in his turn. The labor undergone at this time, by the sea and land forces, must have been prodigious; since they had conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Lawrence,

no fewer than thirty large long-boats, four hundred bateaux, besides a vast number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons.

313. The intent of the expedition was to push forward, before winter, to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters; and the next spring effect a junction with that under general Howe; when it was not doubted that the united force and skill of the two commanders would speedily put an end to the war.

314. It was the beginning of October, before the expedition could be undertaken; the fleet consisted of one large vessel, carrying 18 twelve-pounders; two schooners, the one carrying 14, the other 12 six-pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau, with six twenty-four, and six twelve-pounders; and a gondola with eight nine-pounders; besides these, there were twenty vessels of a smaller size; also gun-boats, carrying each a piece of brass ordnance, from nine to twenty-four-pounders, or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the same manner, and a vast number of boats and tenders of various sizes, to be used as transports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of select seamen; and the gun-boats were served by a detachment from the corps of artillery. The officers and soldiers appointed for this expedition, were also chosen out of the whole army.

315. The American force was too inconsiderable to withstand this formidable armament; general Arnold, who commanded it, after engaging the British fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darkness of the night to set sail without being perceived, and was next morning out of sight: but he was so quickly pursued by the British, that on the second day, he was overtaken and forced to an engagement.

316. Notwithstanding his gallant behavior, he was obliged to run his ships ashore, and set them on fire. A few only escaped to lake George; and the garrison of Crown Point, having destroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderoga. Thither general Carleton intended to have pursued them; but the difficulties he had to encounter were so many, and so great, that it was thought proper to march back into Canada, and desist from any further operations until the next spring.

317. The American affairs now seemed everywhere going to ruin; even those who had been most sanguine in her cause, began to despair. The time also for which the soldiers had enlisted, was now expired; and the bad success of the pre-

ceding campaign had been so very discouraging, that no person was willing to engage himself during the continuance of the war, of which the event appeared so doubtful. General Washington had the mortifying evidence of the daily decrease of his army; so that from thirty thousand, of which it consisted when general Howe landed on Staten-Island, scarce a tenth part could be mustered. General Lee had collected a body of troops to assist the commander-in-chief, but having imprudently taken up his lodgings at a distance from the troops, information was given to colonel Harcourt, who happened to be in the neighborhood, and took him prisoner.

318. The loss of this general was much regretted, especially as he was of higher rank than any prisoner in possession of the colonists, and could not therefore be exchanged. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him, and refused; and Congress was highly irritated when it was reported he was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. They issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners, in their possession, whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British; and that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of general Lee.

319. Congress now proceeded with the utmost diligence to recruit their army; and bound their soldiers to serve for the term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army, for the ensuing campaign, was to consist of eighty-eight battalions, of which each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war.

320. In this agreement, it was stipulated, that each soldier should have one hundred acres, an ensign one hundred and fifty, a lieutenant two hundred, a captain three hundred, a major four hundred, a lieutenant-colonel four hundred and fifty, and a colonel five hundred. Those who only enlisted for three years, were not entitled to any lands. Those who were wounded in the service, both officers and soldiers, were to enjoy half-pay during life. To meet this expense, Congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent., for which the United States was security.

321. At the same time, a declaration was published, tending to animate the people to vigorous exertions, in which they set forth the necessity there was of taking proper methods for securing success. They endeavored to palliate, as much as possible, the misfortunes which had already happened; and re-

presented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

322. This declaration, and the imminent danger of Philadelphia, roused the Americans to exert themselves to obtain reinforcements for general Washington's army. An exploit of that general did more to animate them in the cause, than all the declarations of congress. As the royal army extended in different cantonments for a great way, general Washington saw the practicability of making an attempt on some of those divisions which lay nearest to Philadelphia. These happened to be the Hessians, who lay in three divisions, the last only twenty miles from that city. On the night of the 25th of December, 1776, having collected a considerable force, he set out with an intent to surprise that body of the enemy which lay at Trenton.

323. His army was divided into three bodies; one of which he ordered to cross the Delaware at Trenton ferry, a little below the town; the second at Bordentown, where the second division of Hessians was placed; while himself, with the third, directed his course to a ferry some miles above Trenton, which he intended to have passed at midnight, and make the attack at break of day; but various impediments so obstructed his plans, that it was eight in the morning before he reached the place of his destination. The enemy did not perceive his approach till they were suddenly attacked. Colonel Rahl, their commander, was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, their artillery seized, and about one thousand taken prisoners. After this gallant exploit, general Washington returned into Pennsylvania.

324. This action, though to appearance of no very decisive nature, was what turned the fortune of war in favor of America. It lessened the apprehensions which the Americans had of the Hessians, at the same time that it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them; it also raised the desponding hopes of the Americans, and gave a new spring to all their operations. Reinforcements now came in from all quarters, and general Washington soon found himself in a condition once more to repass the Delaware, and take up his quarters in Trenton, where he was emboldened to take his station, notwithstanding accounts were received of the advance of Cornwallis, who shortly made his appearance; and on the evening of his arrival, the little town of Trenton contained the two hostile armies, separated only by a small creek, which was fordable in many places.

325. This was indeed the crisis of the American revolution ; and had his lordship made an immediate attack, in pursuance of what is reported to have been the advice of Sir William Erskine, general Washington's defeat would have been inevitable ; but a night's delay turned the fortune of the war, and produced an enterprise, the magnitude and glory of which can only be equalled by its success.

326. A council of war having been called, general Washington stated the calamitous situation to which his army was reduced, and after hearing the various opinions of his officers, finally proposed a circuitous march to Princeton, as the means of avoiding the imputation of a retreat, and the danger of a battle, with forces so inferior and in a situation so ineligible. The idea was unanimously approved, and as soon as it was dark, the necessary measures were effected for accomplishing it. A line of fires was kindled, which served to give light to the Americans, while it obscured them from the observation of the enemy ; the weather, which had been for some time warm and foggy, suddenly changed to a hard frost, and rendered the road, which had been deep and heavy, smooth and firm as a pavement. The Americans considered this as a providential interposition in their favor.

327. At break of day, general Washington was discovered by a party of British troops consisting of three regiments, under the command of colonel Mawhood, near Princeton, on their march to Trenton. With these the centre of the Americans engaged, and after killing sixty, wounding many, and taking three hundred prisoners, obliged the rest to make a precipitate retreat ; some towards Trenton, and others to Brunswick. The loss of the Americans, as to numbers, was inconsiderable, but the fall of general Mercer was sensibly felt.

328. The British, astonished and discouraged at the success and spirit of these repeated enterprises, abandoned Trenton and Princeton, and retreated to Brunswick ; while the Americans triumphantly retired to Morristown. General Washington omitted no opportunity of recovering what had been lost ; and by dividing his army into small parties, which could be called into general action at a few hours' notice, he almost entirely covered the country with it, and took possession of the most important places.

329. Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with no other real advantage to the British, than the acquisition of New-York and a few fortresses in the neighborhood, where the troops were constrained to act with as much circumspection, as if they had

been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

330. The British in New-York began, in 1777, to carry on a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers accessible to their shipping: in this they were generally successful; the American magazines at Peek's-kill, a place about fifty miles distant from New-York, were destroyed; the town of Danbury in Connecticut was burned, and that of Ridgefield in the same province was taken possession of.

331. The British, as they were returning from this last expedition, were harassed by generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat, in spite of all opposition, with the loss of only seventy killed and wounded. On the American side the loss was much greater: general Wooster was killed, and Arnold was in the most imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans destroyed the stores at Saggharbor, in the east end of Long-Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place.

332. As this method of making war answered no essential purpose, the British resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. It was first proposed to pass through New-Jersey to that city; but the impolitic conduct of the British, in countenancing the devastation of their plundering parties, had created universal abhorrence; from the large reinforcements which had joined general Washington, who had strongly posted himself, they concluded it to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from his situation, but without success; it was therefore determined to make the attempt by sea.

333. While the preparations were going forward for this enterprise, the Americans found means to capture general Prescott and one of his aids, who were seized in their quarters, much in the same manner as general Lee had been.

334. The month of July, 1777, was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed, and it was the twenty-third before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy-Hook. The force employed in this expedition consisted of thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light-horse, and a body of royalists raised at New-York. The remainder of the forces, consisting of seventeen battalions, and another body of light-horse, had been stationed at New-York under Sir Henry Clinton; and seven battalions at Rhode Island.

335. After they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, they received certain intelligence that the navigation of the river was so obstructed it would be impossible to force a passage; it was therefore resolved to proceed farther southward to Chesapeake bay, from whence the distance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the American army would find less advantage from the nature of the country, than in New-Jersey.

336. The navigation from the Delaware to the Chesapeake took up the best part of the month of August, and that up the bay was difficult and tedious. After having sailed up the river Elk as far as possible, the troops were landed without opposition, and moved towards Philadelphia.

337. On the news of their arrival in the Chesapeake, general Washington left New-Jersey, and fled to the relief of the city; and, in the beginning of September, met the royal army at Brandywine creek, about mid-way between the head of Elk and Philadelphia. General Washington practised his former method of skirmishing, and harassing the army on its march: but as this was found insufficient to stop its course, he retired to that side of the creek next to Philadelphia, with an intent to dispute the passage. A general engagement commenced on the eleventh of September, 1777, in which the Americans were defeated; and, perhaps, the night saved them from total destruction. They lost, in this engagement, about one thousand killed and wounded, besides three hundred who were taken prisoners.

338. The loss of this battle proved the loss of Philadelphia. General Washington retired towards Lancaster, about sixty miles from Philadelphia. But though he could not prevent the loss of that city, he still adhered to his original plan of distressing the royal party, by laying ambushes, and cutting off detached parties; in this he was not so successful as formerly; for one of his own detachments, which lay in ambush in the woods, was surprised, and entirely defeated, with the loss of three hundred killed and wounded; besides seventy or eighty taken prisoners, and all their arms and baggage.

339. General Howe finding the Americans would not venture another battle, even for the sake of their capital, took peaceable possession of it on the 26th of September. His first care was to cut off, by strong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river; this was executed, notwithstanding the opposition of some American armed vessels; one of which, carrying thirty-six guns, was taken. His next task was to open a communication with the sea; and

this was a work of no small difficulty. A vast number of batteries and forts had been erected, and machines formed like *chevaux de frize* had been sunk in the river, to prevent its navigation.

340. As the fleet had been sent round to the Delaware in order to co-operate with the army, this work was effected; nor did the Americans give much opposition, well knowing that all places of this kind were now untenable. General Washington, however, took advantage of the royal army being divided, to attack the principal division of it, that lay at Germantown in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.

341. In this he met with little success; for though he reached the place of destination by three o'clock in the morning, the patrols had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans made a very resolute attack; but were received with so much bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, after having upwards of two hundred killed, five hundred wounded, and four hundred made prisoners; among whom were fifty-four officers. On the side of the British the loss amounted to four hundred and thirty wounded and prisoners, and seventy killed; among the last, were general Agnew and colonel Bird, with some other officers.

342. There still remained two strong forts to be reduced on the Delaware. These were Mud Island and Red Bank. The various obstructions which the Americans had thrown in the way, rendered it necessary to bring up the *Augusta*, a ship of the line, and the *Merlin* frigate, to the attack of Mud Island; but during the heat of the action, both grounded. The Americans observing this, sent down four fire-ships, and directed the whole fire from their galleys against them; but the courage and skill of the British seamen, prevented the former from taking effect: during the engagement the *Augusta* and *Merlin* took fire, and were burned; the other ships withdrew.

343. The Americans, encouraged by this, proceeded to throw new obstructions in the way; but the British general erected batteries within gun-shot of the fort by land, and brought up three ships of the line, mounted with heavy cannon; while the *Vigilant*, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable.

344. Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September to the 11th of November, 1777, being wounded, was removed to the main;

within five days after his removal, major Thayer nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post; but was obliged to evacuate it within twenty-five days. This event did not take place until the works were entirely beat down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near, that she threw hand-grenades into the fort, and killed the men who were uncovered on the platform.

345. The troops who had so bravely defended fort Mifflin, which was the name given to it, made a safe retreat to Red Bank. Within three days after Mud Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red Bank on the approach of lord Cornwallis. A great number of the American shipping, now entirely without protection, sailed up the river in the night time. Seventeen however, remained, whose retreat was intercepted by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them on shore, and burnt them. Thus the campaign of 1777, in Pennsylvania, concluded successfully on the part of the British.

CHAPTER V.

**CAPTURE OF BURGOYNE.—EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA.—
FRENCH FLEET ARRIVES.—THEY TAKE STONY POINT.—
ARNOLD PROVES A TRAITOR.—ANDRE TAKEN.**

346. The expedition in the North had been projected by the British ministry, as the most effectual method that could be taken to subjugate the colonies at once. The New-England provinces were still considered by the British, as the most active in the continuation of the war; and it was thought that any impression made upon them, would effectually contribute to the reduction of the rest.

347. To carry this into execution, an army of four thousand chosen British troops, and three thousand Germans, were put under the command of general Burgoyne; general Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians, to persuade them to join in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join the same. The officers who commanded under general Burgoyne, were general Phillips, of the artillery, generals Fraser, Powel, and Hamilton, with the German officers, Reidesel and Specht.

348. These soldiers were under excellent discipline, and had been kept in their winter-quarters with great care, that they might be prepared for the expedition on which they were going. To insure success to the main expedition, another was formed

on the Mohawk river, under colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly signalized himself in the war of 1755.

349. On the 21st of June, 1777, the British army encamped on the western side of lake Champlain; where, being joined by a considerable body of Indians, general Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; to spare the prisoners, and such women and children as should fall into their hands. He afterwards issued a proclamation, in which the force of the British was displayed in strong and nervous language, with a view to intimidate the Americans: but it had a contrary effect.

350. The campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. This place was very strong, and garrisoned by six thousand men under general St. Clair; nevertheless, the works were so extensive, that even this number was not thought sufficient to defend them properly. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence, called Sugar-hill, which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole. The Americans imagined, that it was too difficult an ascent for the enemy to take possession of it; on the approach of the first division of the army, the Americans abandoned and set fire to their outworks, and so expeditious were the British troops, that on the 5th of July, 1777, every post was secured, which was judged necessary for investing it completely.

351. A road was soon after made to the very summit of that eminence which the Americans supposed could not be ascended; and they were now so much disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort, and made a precipitate retreat to Skenesborough, a place to the south of lake George; while their baggage and military stores, which they could not carry off, were sent to the same place by water. But the British generals were not disposed to let them get off so easily; but pursued and overtook them. Their armed vessels consisted only of five galleys; two of which were taken, and three blown up: on which they set fire to their boats and fortifications, at Skenesborough. Our army lost two hundred of their boats, and one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with all their provisions and baggage.

352. Our land forces, under colonel Francis, made a brave defence against general Fraser; and as they were superior in number, they almost overpowered him, when general Reidesel, with a large body of Germans, came to his assistance. The

Americans were now overpowered in their turn; their commander being killed, they fled in every direction. In this action, two hundred of our men were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above six hundred wounded: many of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance.

353. During the engagement, general St. Clair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place; but instead of going forward to fort Ann, the next place of strength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortress and New-England. General Burgoyne detached thither colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, to intercept St. Clair's retreat towards fort Ann: on his way he met with a detachment more numerous than his own; but after an engagement of three hours, our army was obliged to retire with great loss.

354. After so many disasters, the Americans, unable to make any stand at fort Ann, set fire to it, and retired to fort Edward. In all these engagements, the loss of the killed and wounded, in the royal army, did not exceed two hundred men. General Burgoyne now suspended his operations for some time; and waited at Skenesborough for the arrival of his tents and provisions. But he employed this interval in making roads through the country about fort Ann, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against his enemy. This was attended with toil: but the resolution and patience of his army surmounted all obstacles.

355. Thus, after having undergone the greatest difficulties, and having made every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before fort Edward about the latter end of July. Here general Schuyler had been for some time endeavoring to recruit the scattered American forces, and had been joined by general St. Clair with the remains of his army; the garrison of fort George had also taken shelter there. But on the approach of the royal army they retired from fort Edward, and formed their head-quarters at Saratoga.

356. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the Americans showed no disposition to submit; but prepared in the best manner they could to make effectual resistance. For this purpose the militia was everywhere raised and drafted, to join the army at Saratoga; and such numbers of volunteers were obtained, that they soon began to recover from the alarm into which their recent losses had thrown them.

357. The forces now collected were put under the command of general Arnold, who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable train of artillery; but receiving intelligence that colonel St.

Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk river, he removed to Stillwater, a place about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk with Hudson's river.

358. The colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigor; and understanding that a supply of provisions, guarded by eight or nine hundred men, was on its way to the fort, he dispatched Sir John Johnson with a strong detachment to intercept it, on the 6th of August. This he performed so effectually, that four hundred of the escort were slain, and two hundred taken; the residue escaping with great difficulty. The garrison, it was expected, would be intimidated by this disaster, and by the threats and representations of St. Leger: on the contrary, they made several successful sallies under colonel Willet, the second officer in command; who, with another gentleman, ventured out of the fort, and eluding the vigilance of the enemy, passed through them, in order to hasten the march of general Arnold to their relief.

359. The affairs of colonel St. Leger, notwithstanding his recent success, appeared in no very favorable situation: and they were totally ruined by the desertion of the Indians, who had been alarmed by the report of general Arnold's advancing with two thousand men to the relief of the fort; and while the colonel was endeavoring to encourage them, another report was spread that general Burgoyne had been defeated with slaughter, and was now flying before the Americans. On this he was obliged to comply with their fears, and ordered a retreat; which was not effected without the loss of the tents, some artillery, and military stores.

360. Difficulties and disappointments still continued to press upon general Burgoyne: the roads he had made with so much labor and pains, were destroyed by his enemy, and wetness of the season; so that provisions from fort George could not be brought to his camp without prodigious toil. Having been informed of the siege of fort Stanwix, by colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward, that he might inclose his enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger; and in hopes of securing the command of all the country between fort Stanwix and Albany. At all events, a junction with St. Leger was likely to produce the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was the want of provisions; and this he proposed to remedy, by seizing the American magazines.

361. For this purpose colonel Baum, a German officer of

great bravery, was chosen, with a body of five hundred troops. The magazines lay at Bennington, about twenty miles east of Hudson's river : in order to support colonel Baum's party, the whole army marched up the bank of the river, and encamped almost opposite to Saratoga, with the river between it and that place. An advanced party was posted at Batten-kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to support colonel Baum. In their way the royal detachment seized a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were immediately sent to the camp ; but the badness of the roads retarded their march so much, that intelligence of their design was sent to Bennington.

362. Colonel Baum, understanding the American force at that place was much superior to his own, acquainted his general, who immediately sent colonel Breyman, with a party, to his assistance : but the same causes also retarded the march of this detachment, which could not arrive in time. General Stark, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties separately ; and advanced against colonel Baum, whom he surrounded, and attacked with the utmost violence. The German troops defended themselves with great valor, but were to a man either killed or taken.

363. Colonel Breyman, after a desperate engagement, had the good fortune to effect a retreat through the darkness of the night : which, otherwise, he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition. Disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, general Burgoyne applied himself with indefatigable diligence to procure provisions from fort George ; and having procured a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains of Saratoga.

364. As soon as he approached the American army, which was encamped at Stillwater, under general Gates, he determined to make an attack : he placed himself at the head of the centre, having general Fraser and colonel Breyman on his right, and generals Reidesel and Phillips, with the artillery, on the left. In this manner he advanced, on the 19th of September, towards us. The Americans, confident in their number, did not now wait to be engaged ; but attacked his central division with great impetuosity, and it was not till general Phillips, with the artillery, came up, at eleven o'clock at night, that they could be induced to retire to their camp. In this gallant action the British lost five hundred in killed and wounded, and we only three hundred and nineteen.

365. The resolution manifested by the Americans on this occasion, surprised and alarmed the British forces. But this did not prevent them from advancing towards the enemy, and posting themselves within cannon-shot of their lines, the next day. But their Indian allies now began to desert in great numbers : and at the same time the general was exceedingly mortified by having no intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton, who was to have assisted him, as had been stipulated.

366. Soon afterwards he received a letter by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diversion on the North River in his favor. This afforded but little comfort : and he returned an answer by several trusty persons who took different routes, stating his distressed situation ; at the same time informing him, that his provisions and other necessaries would only enable him to hold out till the 12th of October.

367. The Americans, in the mean time, that they might effectually cut off the retreat of the British, undertook an expedition to Ticonderoga, but failed in the attempt ; notwithstanding they surprised all the out-posts, took a great number of boats, and some armed vessels, and a few prisoners.

368. The army under general Burgoyne, however, continued to labor under various distresses ; his provisions fell short, so that in the beginning of October he diminished the soldiers' allowance. On the 7th of that month, he determined to move towards the enemy : for this purpose he sent a body of 1500 to reconnoitre their left wing ; intending, if possible, to break through it, and effect a retreat. The detachment had not proceeded far, when a dreadful attack was made by the Americans on the left wing of the British army, which was with great difficulty preserved from being entirely broken, by a reinforcement brought up by general Fraser, who was killed in the attack.

369. After the troops had, with the most desperate efforts, regained their camp, it was furiously assaulted by general Arnold ; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the intrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed, but on the right, the German reserve was forced, colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of all their artillery and baggage,

370. This was the greatest loss the British had sustained since the battle of Bunker's-Hill : the list of the killed and wounded amounted to near 1200, exclusive of the Germans : but the greatest misfortune was, that the Americans had now

an opening on the right and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged general Burgoyne once more to change his position, that the enemy might also be obliged to alter theirs. It was accomplished on the night of the 7th without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle.

371. His enemy next advanced on the right, that they might inclose him entirely, which obliged general Burgoyne to direct a retreat to Saratoga. But the Americans had stationed a strong force at the ford on Hudson river, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to lake George; and to effect this, workmen were dispatched, with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, the Americans prepared for an attack; which rendered it necessary to recall his guard, and the workmen being left exposed, could not proceed.

372. The boats which conveyed provisions down the Hudson river, were exposed to the continual fire of the American marksmen, who destroyed many; so that it became necessary to convey them over-land. General Burgoyne, finding it impossible to stay here, with any safety to his army, resolved to attempt a march to fort Edward in the night, and force the passages at the fords either above or below. That he might effect this more easily, it was resolved that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, and leave behind them their baggage and every other encumbrance.

373. Intelligence was soon received that the Americans had raised strong intrenchments opposite the fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had also taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward: he judged it impossible to succeed in his attempt. All this time the American army was increasing in numbers; and reinforcements flocked in from all quarters, elated with the certain prospect of capturing the whole British army. Small parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson river, and some had passed it, that they might the more exactly observe every movement of the enemy. The forces under general Gates were computed at sixteen thousand men, while the army under general Burgoyne amounted to six thousand.

374. Every part of the British camp was reached by the rifle and grape shot of the Americans. In this state of extreme distress and danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance, till the evening of the 13th of October, when an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found

that no more remained than was sufficient to last three days ; a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no other alternative but to treat with the Americans.

375. In consequence of this, a negotiation was opened the next day, which terminated in the capitulation of the whole British army ; the principal article of which was, " that the troops were to have a free passage to Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war." On this occasion general Gates generously ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the British soldiers went to a place appointed to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles on so melancholy an event.

376. The number of those who surrendered at Saratoga, amounted to 5790. According to the American account, the list of sick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, amounted to 528, and the number of those by other accounts, since the taking of Ticonderoga, to near 3000. Thirty-five brass field-pieces, seven thousand stand of arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with tents, military chests, &c. constituted the booty on the occasion. This memorable event took place on the 17th of October, and proved of the utmost importance to the cause of independence ; for it gave confidence to our people, afforded a supply of the munitions of war, and produced a powerful effect upon the dispositions of foreign governments.

377. Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, instead of taking effectual measures for the immediate relief of general Burgoyne, of whose situation he had been informed, amused himself with destroying the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with fort Constitution, and another place called Continental Village, where there were barracks for two thousand men ; he also carried away seventy large cannon, a number of small ones, and a quantity of stores and ammunition. Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace with some frigates, and a body of land forces, under general Vaughan, upon Esopus, a small flourishing town on the river. But these successes only tended to irritate the Americans, and injure the royal cause.

378. On the sixteenth of March, 1778, lord North informed the house of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king, by the French ambassador, intimating the conclusion of an alliance between the court of France, and the United States of America. It was on the sixth of February, 1778, that the articles were formally signed, to the great satisfaction of France ;

by which it was hoped that the pride of her formidable rival would be humbled, and her power lessened.

379. For this purpose and her own aggrandizement, did France enter into an alliance with what England called her revolted subjects; but not till after the capture of Burgoyne's army, when the Americans had made it manifest, that they were able to defend themselves, without the interference of any foreign power. To that interference is attributable, in a great measure, the revolution which a few years afterwards occurred in France, and which in its progress involved the European nations in a long course of warfare. The treaty stipulated as follows:

ART. 1. If Great Britain should, in consequence of this treaty, proceed to hostilities against France, the two nations should mutually assist one another.

ART. 2. The main end of the treaty was, in an effectual manner to maintain the independency of America.

ART. 3. Should those places in North America, still subject to Great Britain, be reduced by the colonies, they should be confederated with them, or subjected to their jurisdiction.

ART. 4. Should any of the West India islands be reduced by France, they should be deemed its property.

ART. 5. No formal treaty with Great Britain should be concluded, either by France or America, without the consent of each other; and it was mutually engaged, that they should not lay down their arms till the independency of the States had been formally acknowledged.

ART. 6. The contracting parties mutually agreed to invite those powers who had received injuries from Great Britain, to join the common cause.

ART. 7. The United States guarantied to France all the possessions in the West Indies, which she should conquer; and France guarantied the absolute independence of the United States, and their supreme authority over every country they possessed, or might acquire during the war.

380. The house of commons looked upon this treaty as a declaration of war; and the members were unanimous in an address to his majesty, promising to stand by him to the utmost, in the present emergency; but it was warmly contended by the members of the opposition, that the present ministry should be removed, on account of their numerous blunders and mis-carriages in every instance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble, was to acknowledge the independence of America, that so they might do with a good grace, what they would inevitably have to do

at last. Instigated with zeal for the national honor, the ministerial party was determined to resent the arrogance of France, and prosecute the war in America with increased vigor, should the terms offered to them be rejected.

381. The agents of the Americans, in the mean time, were assiduously employed at the court of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, and Tuscany, in order, if possible, to conclude alliances with them; or, at least, to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Great Britain had applied for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost endeavors with the German princes, to prevent such auxiliaries from marching through their territories; and also to prevail with them to recall the German troops already sent to America.

382. To the Spanish court they proposed, that in case they should think proper to espouse their cause, the American states should assist in reducing Pensacola under the dominion of Spain; provided the citizens of the United States were allowed the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and the use of the harbor of Pensacola: and they further offered, that if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war against Portugal, should that power expel the American ships from their ports.

383. The troops under general Burgoyne, in the mean time, were preparing to embark, agreeably to the convention at Saratoga, but Congress having received information that articles of ammunition and accoutrements had not been surrendered as stipulated; and alleging also some other cause, as that they apprehended sinister designs were harbored by Great Britain, to convey these troops to join the army at Philadelphia or New-York, positively refused to let them embark without an explicit ratification of the convention, properly notified by the British court.

384. The season for action approaching, Congress was indefatigable in making preparations for a new campaign; which, it was confidently affirmed, would be the last. General Washington, at the same time, to remove all necessary encumbrances from the army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting sacks and portmanteaus, in place of chests and boxes; and using pack-horses instead of wagons. The British army, on the other hand, expecting to be reinforced by twenty thousand men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wishes, before the end of another campaign.

385. Lord North's conciliatory bill, therefore, was received by them with the utmost concern and indignation: they con-

sidered it as a national disgrace ; and some even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet. By the colonists it was received with indifference. The British commissioners endeavored to make it as public as possible ; and Congress ordered it to be printed in all the newspapers. Governor Tryon inclosed several copies of the bill in a letter to general Washington, entreating him that he would allow them to be circulated ; to which the general returned for answer a newspaper, in which the bill was printed, with the resolutions of Congress upon it, which were, that whosoever presumed to make a separate agreement with Great Britain, should be deemed a public enemy ; that the United States could not, with any propriety, keep correspondence with the commissioners, till their independence was acknowledged, and the British fleets and armies removed from America.

386. The colonies were also warned not to suffer themselves to be deceived into security by any offers that might be made ; but to use their utmost endeavors to send their quotas into the field. Some individuals, who conversed with the commissioners on the subject of the conciliatory bill, intimated to them that the day of reconciliation was past ; that the haughtiness of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breasts of the Americans.

387. About this time, Silas Deane arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance, to be signed by congress. Advices of the most flattering nature were received from various parts, representing the friendly disposition of the European powers ; all of whom, it was said, wished to see the independence of America settled upon the most permanent basis.

388. Considering, therefore, the situation of the colonies at this time, it was no wonder that the commissioners did not succeed. Their proposals were utterly rejected, and themselves threatened to be treated as spies. But before any answer could be obtained from Congress, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia. On the 18th of June, after having made the necessary preparations, the army marched out of the city, and crossed the Delaware before noon, with all its baggage, and other encumbrances. General Washington, apprized of this design, had dispatched expresses into New-Jersey, with orders to collect all the force that could be assembled, in order to obstruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived at a place called Freehold, on the 27th of June,

where, expecting the enemy would attack him, he chose a strong situation.

389. General Washington, as was expected, meditated an attack as soon as the army began to march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and general Lee was ordered with his division to be ready at day-break. Sir Henry Clinton, justly apprehending that the chief object of his enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of general Knyphausen, whom he ordered to set out early in the morning, while he followed with the rest of the army. The attack was made, but the British general had taken such care to arrange his troops, and so effectually supported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that they not only made no impression, but were, with difficulty, preserved from a total defeat, by general Washington, who advanced with the whole of the American army.

390. The British troops retreated in the night, with the loss of three hundred men, of whom many died through fatigue, the weather being extremely warm, not a wound being seen upon them. In this action, general Lee was charged by general Washington with disobedience and misconduct, in retreating before the British army. He was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to suspension from his command for one year.

391. When the British army had arrived at Sandy-Hook, a bridge of boats was, by lord Howe's directions, thrown from thence over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed on board the fleet; after which they sailed to New-York. General Washington then moved towards the North River; where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that operations of great magnitude would take place.

392. France, in the mean time, was preparing to assist the Americans. On the 14th of April, 1778, count D'Estaing had sailed from Toulon, with a strong squadron of ships of the line, and frigates; he arrived on the coast of Virginia, in the beginning of July, while the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy-Hook to New-York. The French fleet consisted of one ship of 120 guns, one of eighty, six of 74, and four of 64, besides several large frigates; and exclusive of its complement of sailors, it had 6000 marines and soldiers on board. To oppose this, the British had only six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops.

393. Notwithstanding this inferiority, the British admiral

had posted himself so advantageously, and displayed such superior skill, that D'Estaing did not think it advisable to attack him: he was also informed by the pilots, that his large vessels could not go over the bar into the Hook. In the mean time, general Washington pressed him to sail for Newport. He, therefore, remained at anchor four miles off Sandy-Hook, till the 22d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels; which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

394. The next attempt of the French admiral, in conjunction with the Americans, was against Rhode Island. It was proposed that D'Estaing, with the 6000 troops he had with him, should make a descent on the southern part of the island, while the Americans took possession of the north; at the same time, the French squadron was to enter the harbor of Newport, and take and destroy all the British shipping there. On the 8th of August, the French admiral entered the harbor, as was proposed, but was unable to do any material damage. Lord Howe, however, instantly set sail for Rhode Island, and D'Estaing, confiding in his superiority, immediately came out of the harbor to attack him. A violent storm parted the two fleets, and did so much damage, that they were rendered totally unfit for action. The French suffered most, and several of their ships being afterwards attacked by the English, narrowly escaped being taken. On the 20th of August, the French admiral returned to Newport in a shattered condition; but not thinking himself safe, sailed two days after for Boston.

395. In the mean time, general Sullivan had landed on the northern part of the island, with 10,000 men. On the 17th of August, they began their operations by erecting batteries, and making their approaches to the British lines. But general Pigot had so secured himself on the land-side, that the Americans could not attack him with any probability of success, without the assistance of a marine force. D'Estaing's conduct in abandoning them when he was master of the harbor, gave great disgust to the Americans, and Sullivan began to prepare for a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the garrison sallied out upon him with such vigor, that it was with great difficulty he effected it. He had not been long gone, when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a reinforcement of 4000 men.

396. The Americans, thus having left the island, the British undertook an expedition to Buzzard's Bay, on the coast of New-England, and in the neighborhood of Rhode Island; where they destroyed a number of privateers and merchant-

men, magazines, and store-houses, &c. They proceeded next to Martha's Vineyard, from whence they carried off 2000 sheep and 300 black cattle. Another expedition under the command of lord Cornwallis and general Knyphauzen, went up the North River; the principal object of which was the destruction of a regiment of cavalry called Washington's light-horse.

397. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg Harbor in New-Jersey, a place noted for privateers; it was conducted by captains Ferguson and Collins, who completely destroyed their enemy's vessels. At the same time, a body of American troops, called Pulaski's legion, were surprised, and a number cut off.

398. The conquest of West Florida in the beginning of the year 1779, was projected by some Americans, under the command of captain Willing, who had made a successful excursion into the country. This roused the attention of the British to the southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination, and the more effectually to insure success, colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by commodore Parker, embarked at New-York; while general Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was directed to set out with all the force he could spare.

399. The armament arrived off the coast of Georgia in the month of December, 1778, and though the Americans were strongly posted, in an advantageous situation on the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah, the capital of the province. The same day they defeated the American forces which opposed them, and entered the town of Savannah on the 29th of December, with such celerity that we had not time to burn it, as was intended. In a short time the whole province was obliged to submit to general Prevost in his march southward.

400. To secure the tranquillity of the province was now the main object of the British. Rewards were offered for apprehending committee and assembly men, and such as had taken a decided part against the British government. On the arrival of general Prevost, the command of the troops devolved on him as the senior officer; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected. In this attempt they were encouraged by many of the tory inhabitants who had joined them; and there was not in the province any considerable body of the Americans capable of opposing regular and well-disciplined troops.

401. On the first news of general Prevost's approach, the

royalists assembled, in a body, imagining themselves able to maintain their station until their allies should arrive; but they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them with the loss of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia, and with difficulty effected a junction with the British forces. General Lincoln, in the mean time, encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah, and another strong party of the Americans posted themselves at Briar Creek, which circumscribed the British influence within very narrow bounds.

402. General Prevost, therefore, determined to dislodge his enemy at Briar Creek; the Americans, trusting to their strong situation, were remiss in their guard, by which neglect they were unexpectedly surprised on the 3d of March, 1779, and totally routed, with the loss of 300 killed and taken prisoners, besides a great number drowned in the river: all the artillery, stores, baggage, and almost all the arms of this party, were taken, so that they were incapable of making any further opposition to the British in that quarter.

403. Thus the province of Georgia was once more under the control of the British, and a communication was opened with Carolina. The victory at Briar Creek paved the way for the royalists to join the British army, who considerably increased its force. General Prevost was then enabled to extend his posts further up the river and to guard all the principal passes; so that general Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction; and moved off to Augusta, that he might protect the assembly, which sat at that place; the capital being now in possession of the British.

404. The British general now began to put in execution the great scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Notwithstanding many difficulties lay in his way, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces prevailed. General Moultrie, who was stationed with a body of troops to oppose their passage, was obliged to give way, and retreat towards Charleston; and the British army, after encountering many difficulties through a marshy country, at length arrived in a fine open champaign, through which they passed with great rapidity towards the capital; while general Lincoln was marching with equal speed to its relief.

405. The danger to which Charleston was exposed, animated the American general. A chosen body of American infantry was mounted on horses, for the greater expedition, and were dispatched before him; while himself followed with all the

forces he could collect. General Moultrie, with the troops he had brought from Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charleston, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all opposition was ineffectual: the British army approached within cannon-shot of Charleston, on the 12th of May, 1779.

406. The town was now summoned to surrender, and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would also have engaged for the province but these terms not being accepted, they prepared for a vigorous defence. It was not in the power of the British commander, to succeed at this time in an attack; his artillery was not of sufficient weight, he had no ships to support him, and he knew that general Lincoln was advancing with a superior force; and that he would be inclosed between his forces and those in the town: so that certain destruction awaited him upon the failure of his first attempt upon the town.

407. He therefore prudently resolved to withdraw his forces; and took possession of two islands, called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the southward; where, in a short time, his force was augmented by the arrival of two frigates; with these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, another island possessed of a good harbor, and many other natural advantages, commanding all the sea-coast from Charleston to Savannah river. This he could not accomplish without opposition from the American general, who attempted to dislodge him from his post on St. John's island; but after an obstinate and unsuccessful attempt, was obliged to retire with considerable loss.

408. The principal occasion of the success of the British, was an armed flotilla, which galled the right flank of the Americans so effectually, that they could only direct their efforts against the strongest part of the lines, which was impregnable to their attacks. This disappointment was followed by the loss of Port Royal, which general Prevost took possession of, and stationed his troops in proper places, waiting the arrival of such reinforcements as were expected for the intended attack upon Charleston.

409. In the mean time, count D'Estaing had put into Boston harbor to refit, and used his utmost efforts to gain the goodwill of the inhabitants. He also published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendship with France; declaring that all who

renounced their allegiance to the king of Great Britain, should be protected by the king of France.

410. The Canadians did not think it prudent to relinquish their peace, and depend upon the unsubstantial promises of a courtier, whose means were inadequate to his professions, and whose chief aim was to divide and ruin the British interest in America. The French admiral, as soon as his fleet was refitted, and while admiral Byron's had been shattered by a storm, took that opportunity of sailing to the West Indies.

411. During his operations there, the Americans represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them; upon which he received orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed. Agreeably to these instructions, he directed his course towards Georgia, with the avowed design of recovering that province from the British, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a state of defence, as would secure them from any future attack. This, upon a superficial view, appeared easy to be effected, as he knew there was but a small force to oppose him.

412. The British fleet and army at New-York were next to be destroyed, and their total expulsion from America was anticipated as an event at no great distance. Full of these towering hopes, the French admiral arrived off the coast of Georgia, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line and ten frigates.

413. His arrival was so unexpected, that several vessels, laden with provisions, fell into his hands. The *Experiment*, a 50 gun ship, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with an inconsiderable part, was at Savannah; but the main force was under colonel Maitland, at Port Royal.

414. On appearance of the French fleet, an express was sent by Prevost to colonel Maitland, but it was intercepted by the Americans; so that before he could set out to join the commander-in-chief, the Americans had secured the principal passes by land, while the French effectually blockaded the passage by sea. But taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over-land, he arrived in time to relieve Savannah.

415. D'Estaing had allowed general Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he would capitulate or not; this interval he made use of in making the best preparations in his power, and during this time colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected. The garrison consisted of

3000 men of approved valor and experience. The united force of the French and Americans was about ten thousand.

416. The event was answerable to the expectation of the British general: having the advantage of a strong fortification, and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made little impression; so that D'Estaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for that purpose.

417. The allied commanders, from motives of policy, refused general Prevost's request to permit the women and children to retire to a place of safety, and they resolved to make a general assault. This was attempted on the 9th of October, but the assailants were everywhere repulsed with great slaughter; 1200 were killed and wounded; among the first was count Pulaski, one of the conspirators against a former king of Poland, and among the latter was D'Estaing himself.

418. This defeat overthrew the sanguine hopes of the French and Americans; after waiting eight days longer, the allied forces retreated; the French to their shipping, and the Americans to Carolina. About this time, Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, having general Matthews and a body of land forces on board, to Virginia. Their first attempt was against the town of Portsmouth, where the British troops carried off twenty vessels with an immense quantity of provisions, designed for general Washington's army, together with a variety of naval and military stores: at the same time and place were burnt 120 vessels, after which the British returned to New-York elated with their victory.

419. The successful issue of this expedition, encouraged them to undertake another. The Americans had erected two strong forts on Hudson river, the one at Verplank's Neck on the east, and the other at Stony Point on the west side; these were likely to be of the utmost service to us, as they commanded the principal pass called King's ferry, between the northern and southern colonies.

420. The force employed upon this occasion, was divided into two bodies, one against Verplank's Neck, under the command of general Vaughan, the latter by general Patterson; while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance; his enemy abandoning their works at his approach. But at Stony Point, a vigorous defence was made. The garrison, notwithstanding, was obliged to capitulate upon honorable conditions. General Clinton, desirous to secure the possession of it, removed from

his former situation, and encamped in such a manner, that general Washington could not give any assistance.

421. The Americans revenged themselves of the British, by distressing the trade of New-York, with their numerous privateers; which were chiefly built and harbored in Connecticut. The British, in return, sent 2000 troops, under the command of governor Tryon and general Garth, under a convoy of armed vessels, to make a descent at New-Haven, where they destroyed the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, besides a number of shipping and naval stores; but as the inhabitants did not fire upon the troops from the houses, the buildings of the town were spared.

422. From New-Haven they proceeded to Fairfield, which they reduced to ashes. Norwalk was next attacked, and afterwards Greenfield, a small seaport in the neighborhood, both of which were burned. These successes were so alarming, as well as detrimental to the Americans, that general Washington was determined to drive the enemy from Stony Point. For this purpose general Wayne was sent with a detachment of chosen men, with directions to take it by surprise. After the capture of it by the British, the fortifications had been completed and made very strong; notwithstanding, the Americans passed through a heavy fire of musketry and grape-shot, and in spite of all opposition, obliged the surviving part of the garrison, consisting of 500 men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

423. The Americans did not attempt to retain the possession of Stony Point; but their success in surprising it, encouraged them to make a similar attack on Paulus Hook, a post strongly fortified, opposite to New-York. After having completely surprised the post, major Lee found it impossible to retain it, and made an orderly retreat with about 161 prisoners, among whom were seven officers.

424. Another expedition was next undertaken by the Americans: this was against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort which threatened to be very inconvenient to the Americans. The armament destined against it was so expeditiously fitted out, that colonel Maclane, the commanding officer at Penobscot, was obliged to content himself with putting the works, already constructed, in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing without much difficulty, and bringing the guns of the largest vessels to bear upon the shore.

425. As soon as this was done, they erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire for the space of a fortnight; after which they proposed to make a general assault; but before this could be effected, Sir George Collier, with a British fleet, was seen sailing up the river to attack them. On this they embarked their artillery and stores, sailing up the river as far as possible, to avoid being taken. But they were so closely pursued, that not a single vessel escaped; thus the American fleet, consisting of 43 small vessels, was destroyed.

426. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and to add to their calamities, a quarrel between the seamen and soldiers broke out, concerning the cause of their misfortunes; a violent affray ensued, in which a great number were killed. Thus the arms of France and America being everywhere unsuccessful, the independence of the latter seemed yet to be in danger, notwithstanding the assistance of so powerful an ally.

427. The hopes of the Americans were again revived by the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Great Britain. The eager desire of Spain to humble Great Britain, appeared to have deprived her of that cautious reserve which seems interwoven with the constitution of the Spanish government. They certainly did not consider that by establishing an independent empire so near them, their rich dependencies in South America might imbibe the spirit of liberty, and be animated, by so successful an example, to sever the political tie which united them to Spain.

428. The first act of hostility against Great Britain by the Spaniards, was an invasion of West Florida, in September, 1779. They easily made themselves masters of the whole, as there was little or no opposition; the country being in no state of defence. They next proceeded to the bay of Honduras, where the British logwood-cutters were settled. These, finding themselves too weak to resist, applied to the governor of Jamaica for assistance, who sent them a supply of men, ammunition, and military stores, under captain Dalrymple.

429. Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal settlement, called St. George's Key, had been taken by the Spaniards, and retaken by the British. Captain Dalrymple fell in with a squadron from admiral Parker's fleet, in search of some register-ships richly laden; but they retreated into the harbor of Omoa, under the protection of a fort that was too strong to be attacked on the water-side with safety.

430. A project was then formed, in conjunction with the people of Honduras, to reduce this fort ; but the artillery they had with them was too light to make any impression. It was then determined to try the success of an escalade ; and this was executed with so much spirit, that the Spaniards stood astonished, and made no resistance. The spoil was very great, being valued at three millions of dollars.

431. The Spaniards chiefly lamented the loss of two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, a commodity indispensably necessary in the working of their gold and silver mines ; so that they offered to ransom it at any price ; but this was refused : as also the ransom of the fort, notwithstanding the governor offered 300,000 dollars for it. A small garrison was left in it by the British : but it was soon after attacked by a formidable force, and they were obliged to evacuate it. Before they retired, they destroyed every thing that could be of use to the enemy : the guns were spiked, and they even locked the gates, and carried off the keys in sight of the besiegers ; after which the garrison embarked without the loss of a man.

432. The war in America was now transferred to the southern colonies where the operations at last became decisive. Towards the end of the year 1779, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New-York with a considerable body of troops, intended for an attack on Charleston, South Carolina, in a fleet of ships of war and transports, under the command of vice-admiral Arbuthnot. After a tedious voyage, in which they suffered some losses, they arrived at Savannah, where they endeavored to repair the damages they had sustained during the voyage. From thence they proceeded to North Edisto, on the 10th of February, 1780. The passage thither was speedy and prosperous. The transports all entered the harbor next day ; and the army took possession of St. John's Island, about thirty miles from Charleston, without any opposition.

433. Preparations were immediately made for passing the squadron over Charleston bar ; but no opportunity offered of going into the harbor, until the 20th of March ; when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the English boats from sounding the channel.

434. The British troops had previously removed from St. John's to St. James' island ; and on the 29th of the same month, they effected their landing on Charleston neck. They broke ground on the first of April, and by the eighth, the guns were mounted in battery.

435. Admiral Arbuthnot, in passing Sullivan's island, sustained a severe fire from the American batteries erected there, and suffered some damage in his rigging : twenty-seven seamen were killed and wounded ; the *Acteus* transport, having on board some naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of the island, and was so much damaged that she was abandoned and burnt. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral, on the 10th of April, summoned the town to surrender : but general Lincoln, who commanded in Charleston, answered with a declaration of his intention to defend the place ; the batteries were then opened against the town, and, after a short time, the fire from the American advanced works abated.

436. The troops in the town were not sufficient in point of numbers, for defending works of such extent as those of Charleston ; many of them had not been much accustomed to military service ; were badly provided with clothes, and other necessities : supplies and reinforcements, which were anxiously expected by general Lincoln from Virginia, and other places, were intercepted by earl Cornwallis and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. They totally defeated a body of cavalry and militia, as they were proceeding to the relief of the town ; they likewise secured certain posts which commanded the adjacent country, by which means they often prevented supplies of provisions from entering the town.

437. Tarleton, however, was defeated by colonel Washington, at the head of a regular troop of horse ; which circumstances afforded the ladies in Charleston, who were warmly attached to the cause of their country, an opportunity of rallying the British officers, and Tarleton in particular, who, affecting to make his court to one of them, by commending the bravery of colonel Washington, added, he should like to see him ; she wittily replied, " he might have had that gratification, if he had looked behind him when he fled from the battle of Cowpens."

438. On the 8th of May, general Clinton again summoned the town to surrender upon the same terms as he had offered before. General Lincoln then proposed articles of capitulation, but they were not agreed to by general Clinton. At length the town being closely invested, and great preparations made for storming it, general Lincoln, at the earnest entreaty of the inhabitants, surrendered it on such terms as had been proposed by the British general. This was on the 12th of May, the town having held out one month and two days, since it had first been summoned to surrender.

439. A large quantity of warlike stores were found in

Charleston ; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton, the number of prisoners amounted to 5615, but from the account transmitted to congress by general Lincoln, amounted only to 2487 : the great difference in the two statements must arise from the supposition that general Clinton included the militia and inhabitants of the town. Some of our frigates were also taken and destroyed, in the harbor.

440. After the surrender of the town, general Clinton issued two proclamations, and a handbill was circulated among the inhabitants of South Carolina ; the design of which was to induce them to return to their allegiance, and be ready to join the king's troops. It imported that the assistance of every man was wanted to establish peace and good order ; that as the commander-in-chief wished not to draw the king's friends into danger, while success remained doubtful, so now, as all doubts upon this head were removed, he trusted that every one would heartily join to effect such necessary measures as might be pointed out for that purpose.

441. The proclamations and publications of general Clinton produced some effect in South Carolina. A number of the inhabitants of Charleston, who were considered as prisoners on parole, signed an address to general Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, amounting to 210 persons, soliciting to be readmitted to the character and condition of British subjects, declaring their disapprobation of the doctrine of American independence, and expressing their regret, that after the repeal of those statutes which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his majesty's commissioners had not been regarded by Congress.

442. Before we proceed any further with the transactions in South Carolina, it will be necessary to take a view of the war in another part of the continent. On the tenth of July, 1780, M. Ternay, with a fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a large body of French troops commanded by count Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island ; and the following day, 6000 men were landed there.

443. A committee of the general assembly of Rhode-Island was appointed to congratulate the French general upon his arrival ; whereupon he returned an answer in which he informed them that the king, his master, had sent him to the assistance of his good and faithful allies, the United States of America. At present, he said, he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid ; and the king had ordered him to assure them that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added that the French troops

were under the strictest discipline, and were to act under the orders of general Washington, and that they would live with the Americans as brethren.

444. A scheme was soon after formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode-Island. Accordingly, a considerable part of the troops were embarked at New-York for that purpose. As soon as general Washington received information of their design, by a rapid movement, he passed the North river, and with an army of 12,000 men proceeded to King's Bridge, in order to attack New-York: but learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the 21st of the month, he recrossed the river, and returned to his former station.

445. An unsuccessful attempt was also made about this time in New-Jersey, by Knyphausen, with seven thousand British troops under his command, to surprise the advanced posts of general Washington's army. They proceeded with great expedition towards Springfield, meeting little opposition till they came to the bridge, which was gallantly defended by one hundred and seventy of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, against the British army; but were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of thirty-seven men. After securing this pass, the British marched from place to place, committed some depredations, but gained no laurels, and were obliged to return without effecting any thing material.

446. The royal arms were attended with more success in South Carolina. Cornwallis, who succeeded to the command of the troops in that quarter, obtained a signal victory over general Gates on the 16th of August. The action began at daybreak: the Americans were more numerous than the British, but numbers were of no advantage, as the ground on which both armies stood was narrowed by swamps on the right and left.

447. The attack was made by the British troops with great vigor, and in a few minutes it became general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, the air was hazy, so that the smoke occasioned so thick a darkness, it was impossible for either party to see the effects of a very heavy fire, and well supported on both sides. The British troops kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered; and after an obstinate resistance of three quarters of an hour, the Americans were thrown into confusion, and forced to give way in every quarter.

448. The continental troops behaved well; but the militia were soon broken, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally them, but without effect: the regular troops under general Gates retreated in good order; but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry pursued them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The Americans lost one thousand in killed and wounded, and a like number, it is said, taken prisoners; but the accounts were not very accurate.

449. The British troops engaged in this action did not exceed two thousand men, while the American army is said to have amounted to six thousand, but the greater part was militia. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colors, and all the ammunition-wagons, were taken. The killed and wounded of the British troops amounted to two hundred and thirteen. Major-general baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, was taken prisoner, after he had been mortally wounded; he had distinguished himself in the course of the engagement by his gallantry, and received eleven wounds.

450. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the next day, with some cavalry and light-infantry, to attack a party of Americans, under the command of general Sumpter; he executed this service with great military address. He had received certain intelligence of Sumpter's movements; and by forced and concealed marches, came up with him, and surprised him, in the middle of the day, on the 18th of the month, near the Catawba fords: the detachment under Sumpter was totally dispersed, amounting to seven hundred men; one hundred and fifty were killed on the spot, and three hundred made prisoners: two pieces of brass cannon, and forty-four wagons, were likewise taken.

451. While the French fleet and army were blockaded at Rhode-Island, by admirals Graves and Arbuthnot, with a fleet of ten sail of the line; while our countrymen were brooding over their disappointments; the campaign of 1780 had passed away in the northern states, in successive and reiterated distresses; the country exhausted, and the continental currency expiring; the army was inactive for want of subsistence; and while these disasters were openly menacing the ruin of our cause, treachery was secretly aiming the deadly blow.

452. General Arnold, a distinguished officer, a native of Connecticut, who had been among the foremost to take up arms

against Great Britain, and widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies: his distinguished military talents had procured him every honor a grateful country could bestow: he was in the full enjoyment of substantial fame: his country had not only loaded him with honors, but forgiven his crimes: he who had been prodigal of life in his country's cause, was indulged in extraordinary demands for his services. But the generosity of the states did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favorite officer. His love of pleasure induced the love of money: to attain which he sacrificed his honor and duty. He made contracts, and entered into partnerships and speculations which could not bear investigation. Thus embarrassed, a change of political sides afforded the only probable hope of evading a scrutiny, bettering his circumstances, and gratifying his favorite passion.

453. The American army was stationed in the strong holds of the Highlands, on both sides of the North river; Arnold was intrusted by general Washington with the command of West Point, a strongly fortified post; this was called the Gibraltar of America, and was built for the defence of the North river. Rocky ridges, rising one behind another, rendered it so secure, that it could not be invested by a less number than twenty thousand men.—Arnold, being intrusted with the command, carried on a negotiation with general Clinton, by which it was agreed, he should so arrange matters, that Clinton should be enabled to surprise West Point, and have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces.

454. The loss of this fort would have been severely felt, as it was the repository of their most valuable stores. Sir Henry Clinton's agent in this negotiation was major André, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of uncommon merit; nature had bestowed on him her choicest gifts: he possessed many amiable and rare qualities; his fidelity, his place and character, fitted him for this important business; but his high idea for candor, his abhorrence of duplicity and nice sense of honor, made him reject those arts of deception which were necessary to accomplish its success. To favor the necessary communication, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North river, as near to Arnold's post as was possible, without exciting suspicion.

455. A written correspondence had been carried on between Arnold and André, under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent in the night to bring major André

to shore ; he was met by Arnold on the beach without the posts of either army. As their business was not finished before the dawn of day, which made it unsafe for André to return to the Vulture sloop of war, he was persuaded by Arnold to lie concealed until the next night. He was then conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The next night the boatmen refused to take him back, as the Vulture had changed her position. The only practicable mode of escape was by land to New-York.

456. To insure success, he changed his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout ; was furnished with a horse, and a pass under the name of John Anderson, allowing him to go to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper. He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way, but when he expected he was nearly out of danger, was stopped by three of the New-York militia, who were scouting between the posts of the two armies.

457. Major André, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him "Where he belonged?" who answered, "To below," meaning New-York. He replied "So do I," and declared himself a British officer, and desired he might not be detained. He soon found his mistake. The captors proceeded to search him ; and sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's handwriting. They contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance at West Point, the artillery orders, and critical remarks on the works.

458. André offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass ; and permanent provision and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. This was refused, and he was delivered a prisoner to colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. André assumed the name of John Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with his detention : this was granted, and Arnold immediately, upon the receipt of the letter, abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war.

459. Lieutenant-colonel Jameson forwarded, by an express, all the papers found on André, together with a letter from that gentleman, avowing his name and rank. The style of it was dignified, without insolence. He stated, that he had held a correspondence with a person, by order of his general : that his intention went no further than to meet that person on neutral

ground, for the purpose of intelligence; and that against his express stipulation and intention, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them. Being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise. He concluded with requesting, whatever his fate should prove, a decency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was dishonorable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor.

460. General Washington referred the case of major André to the decision of a board of general officers. On his examination, he candidly confessed every thing relating to himself; and particularly, that he did not come on shore under the sanction of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own confession; and finally gave it as their opinion, "that major André ought to be considered as a spy; and that, agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death."

461. Every exertion was made by the royal commanders, and every plea that ingenuity and humanity could suggest, to save the life of André, but without effect. Greene proposed delivering him up for Arnold; but this could not be acceded to by the British, consistently with principles of sound policy. André, superior to the terrors of death, yet wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favor, he wrote a letter to general Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. General Washington did not think proper to grant this request; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of a negative denial. The guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution.

462. Major André walked with firmness, composure, and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arms locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with some concern, "Must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode:" but soon added, "it will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the cart with a pleasing countenance, and with a composure which excited the admiration, and melted the hearts, of the spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed, by beholding a well-dressed youth, in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mien, and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. He was asked, when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say; he answered, "Nothing but to request that you will witness to the world, that I die

like a brave man." In a few moments the affecting scene was closed. To offer further remarks upon the fate of this accomplished officer would be unnecessary, as the world has been acquainted with every transaction respecting it.

463. After the defeat of general Gates by earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himself to the utmost, in extending the progress of the British arms, and with considerable effect. But one enterprise, which was conducted by major Ferguson, was unsuccessful. That officer had been very active in his exertions in the royal cause, and had taken great pains to improve the discipline of the royal militia; with about 1400 of these, he made several incursions into the country. He was, however, attacked on the 7th of October, 1780, by a superior body of Americans, at King's Mountain, and totally defeated: 150 were killed in the action; 810 made prisoners, and 1500 stand of arms were taken.

464. But the month following, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with a party of one hundred and seventy cavalry, attacked general Sumpter, who is said to have had one thousand men, at a place called Black Stocks, and obliged him to retire. Sumpter was wounded, and about one hundred and twenty of his party killed, wounded, and taken prisoners: about fifty of the British were killed and wounded.

CHAPTER VI.

H. LAURENS TAKEN PRISONER.—SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.
—TREATY OF PEACE.—WASHINGTON FIRST PRESIDENT.—
HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS.—HIS DEATH.

465. On the third of September, 1780, the Mercury, a Congress packet, was taken by the Vestal, commanded by captain Kepple, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Henry Laurens, late president of Congress, who was bound on an embassy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but the greatest part of them were recovered, without receiving much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy-council; in consequence of which, he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treason. The contents of those papers hastened the rupture which soon after took place between Great Britain and Holland; for among them was found the plan of a treaty between the United States of North America and the republic of Holland.

466. On the first of January, 1781, the troops that were huttet at Morristown, called the Pennsylvania line, turned out,

in number about 1300, and declared they would serve no longer, unless their grievances were redressed. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and some wounded. They then collected the artillery and stores, and marched out of the camp. As they passed by the quarters of general Wayne, he sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences might prove fatal. They nevertheless proceeded on their march till the evening, when they posted themselves advantageously, and elected officers to command them; the next day they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third they reached Princeton, where they fixed their quarters. On that day, a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message desiring to be informed what were their intentions.

467. Some alleged they had served out the time of their enlistment, and would serve no longer; and others declared they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed. But they all at the same time protested, that they were not actuated by motives of disaffection to the American cause. This they soon had it in their power to make manifest, when general Clinton, who was soon informed of the revolt, and hoped to draw them over to the British interest, sent two messengers with tempting offers to that purpose: these they disdainfully refused, and delivered up the messengers to Congress. Joseph Reid, Esq. president of the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards effected an accommodation; those who had served out their full time were permitted to return home, and the others, upon satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed, rejoined their countrymen in arms.

468. On the 11th of January, lord Cornwallis began to make vigorous exertions in order to reduce North Carolina, but was delayed by general Morgan and the troops under him, who attempted to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-Six. To prevent this, his lordship dispatched lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with three hundred cavalry, three hundred light-infantry, the seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two field-pieces, to oppose the progress of Morgan. The British commander had no doubt of the success of the expedition. On the 17th of January, the royal detachment came up with the Americans, under general Morgan, two-thirds of whom were militia: these were drawn up in a wood, at a place called the Cowpens, near Pacolet river.

469. The British, besides the advantage of field-pieces, had five to four in infantry, and more than three to one in cavalry:

the attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the seventh regiment, and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the seventy-first, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed the reserve. The American line soon gave way, and the militia quitted the field; upon which the king's troops, supposing victory certain, engaged with ardor in the pursuit, and were thereby thrown into disorder: general Morgan's corps, supposed to have been routed, immediately faced about, discharged a heavy fire upon the royalists, and threw them into such confusion, that they were totally defeated.

470. Four hundred of the British light infantry were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: the two field-pieces fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colors of the seventh regiment; and almost all the detachment of royal artillery were cut to pieces in defence of their colors. Colonel Tarleton then retreated to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's creek, with part of his baggage, having destroyed the rest. This stroke was sensibly felt by lord Cornwallis.

471. The care of collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps now principally employed his thoughts, as well as to endeavor to form a junction with general Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of British troops from Wynnesborough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army to retake the prisoners, and intercept general Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that officer, by forced marches, had crossed it, the evening before a great rain; this swelled the river to such a height as prevented the British from crossing for several days; in which time the prisoners, with their captors, had crossed the Yadkin river, whence they proceeded to the river Dan, which they also passed; and on the 14th of February, they reached Guilford Court-House, in Virginia.

472. Lord Cornwallis halted two days to collect flour, and rid himself of all unnecessary encumbrances. Being thus prepared, he marched through North Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the extremities of that province, to the banks of the river Dan: some skirmishes ensued, but he met with no very considerable opposition. On the 1st of February, 1781, the king's troops crossed the Catawba, at M'Cowan's ford, where general Davidson was posted with a party of American militia to oppose their passage; but he being killed at the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated.

473. When lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the royal standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and assist in the restoration of order and good government. He had been informed that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country : but the event did not confirm the truth of such information. The royalists were but few in number, or too timid to join the king's standard. About two hundred were proceeding to Hillsborough, to avow their attachment to the royal cause, under colonel Pyle, but they were met by a detachment of the American army, who attacked and utterly routed them. General Greene in the mean while was marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, to form a junction with other American corps, that he might impede the progress of lord Cornwallis.

474. General Greene having effected a junction, on the 10th of March, 1781, with a regiment of continental troops, and two large bodies of militia from Virginia and North Carolina, was resolved to attack the British troops under lord Cornwallis. They accordingly marched on the 12th, and on the 14th arrived at Guilford. Lord Cornwallis was apprized of the designs of the American general ; as they approached nearer to each other, a few skirmishes between the advanced parties took place. On the 15th, lord Cornwallis proceeded with his whole force to attack the Americans on their march, or in their encampment. About four miles from Guilford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by colonel Tarleton, was met by lieutenant-colonel Lee's division, with whom he had a severe skirmish, and was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. The country in which the action happened was a perfect wilderness, excepting some few fields interspersed.

475. The American army was posted on a rising ground, about a mile and a half from Guilford Court-House : it was drawn up in three lines, the front composed of the North Carolina militia, under the command of generals Butler and Eaton ; the second line of Virginia militia commanded by generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades ; the third line consisting of two brigades, one of Maryland, and the other of Virginia, continental troops ; and a regiment of riflemen, under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of the right flank ; lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a body of riflemen, under colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of the left flank.

476. The attack on the American army was made by the directions of lord Cornwallis. On the right the regiment of Bose, and the seventy-first regiment, led by major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers, and second battalion of guards, commanded by brigadier-general O'Hara. The yagers and light infantry remained in a wood, on the left of the ordnance, to act as circumstances might require.

477. About two P. M. the attack began by a cannonade which lasted about twenty minutes, when the action became general. The American forces under colonels Washington and Lee, were warmly engaged and did great execution. Colonel Tarleton's orders were to keep the cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except it was to protect any of the divisions from the most imminent danger of being defeated. The woods were so thick, that neither party could make a free use of the bayonet.

478. The second battalion of guards were the first that gained the clear ground, near Guilford Court-House, where was a corps of continental infantry, superior in number; these were formed in the open field, on the left of the road. Desirous of signalizing themselves, they immediately attacked, and soon gained an advantage, taking two guns; but as they pursued the Americans with too much ardor to a wood, they were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and were instantly driven into the field, by colonel Washington's dragoons, who recovered the artillery. The American cavalry were afterwards repulsed, and the artillery again fell into the hands of the British.

479. The British having broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and were endeavoring to gain their right; which would have inclosed the whole of the continental troops. A retreat was immediately ordered by general Greene, which was conducted with good order to Reedy-Fork river, and they crossed the ford about three miles from the field of action, where they halted. After the stragglers were collected, they retreated to the Iron-works, about ten miles from Guilford, and encamped. The Americans lost their artillery and ammunition-wagons.

480. The action lasted an hour and a half, in which short space, according to the account of lord Cornwallis, there were of the British 532 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Gen-

eral Greene, in his account to Congress, gives an account of no more than 329 killed, wounded, and missing: but he gave no account of the militia, which was more than one hundred. Lieutenant-colonel Stewart was killed in the action; lieutenant-colonel Webster; the captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodrich died of the wounds they received; and the brigadier-generals O'Hara and Howard, and colonel Tarleton were wounded. The principal officer among the Americans killed, was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, and generals Stephens and Huger were wounded.

481. Notwithstanding general Greene's defeat, he endeavored to make some further attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon, an experienced and gallant officer, was posted at Camden, with about 800 British troops and provincials. Greene appeared before that place on the 19th of April, with a large body of continental troops and militia. Despairing of success, should he attempt to storm the town, he took such a position as he imagined would be likely to induce the enemy to make a sally from their works; when he thought he might attack them with advantage. Greene therefore posted the Americans on an eminence, which was covered with wood, flanked on the left by an impassable swamp.

482. On the morning of the 25th, lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and attacked Greene in his camp, who was compelled to give way, after making a vigorous resistance: he had been in hopes of defeating the British, having so advantageous a situation, and such a commanding superiority in point of numbers. The bravery of colonel Washington was very conspicuous in this action; he made 200 of the English prisoners, besides ten or twelve officers, before he perceived his companions were retreating. The British had about 100 killed and wounded: upwards of 100 of the Americans were taken prisoners; and according to general Greene's account, there were 126 Americans killed and wounded. The British, it was said, continued the pursuit three miles. After this action, the Americans retreated to Rudgely Mills, twelve miles from Camden. Lord Rawdon soon after left that place, having first burned the jail, mills, and some private houses.

483. Greene's next expedition was an attack upon Ninety-Six, which he attempted to storm, but was repulsed with great bravery; he then retired with his army behind the Saluda river, a strong situation, about 16 miles from Ninety-Six. About this time, major-general Phillips, and brigadier-general Arnold,

made some predatory incursions into Virginia, destroying the American stores and magazines; but the royal cause was not much benefited by such a waste of property.

484. Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over general Greene, at Guilford, proceeded to Wilmington; and on the 20th of May arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia. On the 16th of June, 1781, about six miles from Williamsburg, lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with about 350 of the queen's rangers, and eighty yagers mounted, were attacked by the Americans, whom they repulsed with great gallantry and success, making four officers and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action, is said to have been more than one hundred and twenty.

485. On the 6th of July, an action took place near the Green Springs, in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of Americans, under general Wayne, and a large party of the British army under lord Cornwallis, in which the Americans had 127 killed and wounded; and the loss of the royal troops is said to have been much greater.

486. In a variety of skirmishes about this time, the marquis de la Fayette distinguished himself, and displayed the utmost ardor in the American cause. On the 8th of September, 1781, general Greene defeated colonel Stuart, near the Eutaw Springs, in South Carolina, which was so important in its consequences as to relieve the state from the pressure of the war, and contributed to the successful issue of the conflict.

487. Lord Cornwallis had now become sensible that his situation in Virginia was very critical; the reinforcements and supplies being expected from Sir Henry Clinton, and without which he could not insure to himself success, had not arrived. General Washington's military movements were such as impressed on the mind of that British general a fear that his designs were upon New-York; he therefore thought it too hazardous to send any large body of troops to the assistance of his lordship.

488. General Washington having thus, for a considerable time, kept Sir Henry Clinton in continual alarm, suddenly quitted his camp at the White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, with the design of attacking lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry, about the same time, was informed that the count de Grasse, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeake, in order that he might co-operate with general Washington. He immediately sent, both by land and water, intelligence to lord Cornwallis; and

that he would either reinforce him, or make the most effectual diversion in his power.

489. On the 28th of August, Sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West Indies, joined the squadron under admiral Graves, before New-York. They immediately proceeded to the Chesapeake; where they arrived on the 5th of September, with nineteen ships of the line, when they found count de Grasse anchored in the bay, with twenty-four ships of the line. The French admiral had previously landed a large body of troops, who immediately marched to join the American army under general Washington. On the same day the two fleets came to an engagement: on board the British fleet 90 were killed, and 246 wounded. Some of the ships were much damaged, and the *Terrible*, a 74-gun ship, was so much shattered, that it was found most expedient to set her on fire. The two fleets continued in sight of each other for five days.

490. At length the French fleet anchored within the Capes, so as to block up the passage. Admiral Graves then held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to New-York, and the ships be put in the best state for service. Before the news of this action had reached New-York, a council of war was held there, in which it was resolved that 5000 men should be embarked in the king's ships, and proceed to the assistance of lord Cornwallis: but this resolution was rescinded, when it was known that the French were masters of the Chesapeake. In another council it was resolved that, as lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him to the end of October, it was most advisable to wait for the arrival of admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line.

491. In the mean time, the most effectual measures were adopted by general Washington for surrounding the British army under lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops were under the command of lieutenant-general count Rochambeau, with a large train of artillery. The American forces were, in number, about 1300, under the command of general Washington.

492. On the 29th of September, 1781, York-Town, in Virginia, was completely invested, and the British army quite blocked up. The day following, Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing that was in his power to relieve him, and some further information respecting the manner in which he intended to accomplish that relief. A duplicate of this letter was sent to lord Cornwallis by major Cochran: that gentleman went in

a vessel to the Capes, and made his way through the whole French fleet in an open boat. He got to York-Town on the 10th of October, and the next day had his head taken off by a cannon-ball, as he was walking by the side of lord Cornwallis. The fate of this gallant officer drew tears from the eyes of his lordship.

493. After the return of admiral Graves to New-York, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, that a large body of troops should be embarked, and that exertions of both fleet and army should be made, in order to form a junction with lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himself, with 7000 troops, went on board the fleet, on the 18th. They came abreast of Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, on the 24th, where they received intelligence that lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before. On the 19th of Oct. 1781, his lordship surrendered himself and his whole army, by capitulation, prisoners to the combined armies of America and France. He made a defence worthy his former fame for military achievements, but was compelled to submit by imperious necessity, and superior numbers.

494. The British prisoners amounted to upwards of 6000, but many of them, at the time of surrender, were incapable of duty. The infantry, cannon, and military stores, fell to the Americans, but the seamen and the shipping were, by the articles of capitulation, to be delivered up to the French. After this event, the subjugation of the colonies was virtually given up. Some inconsiderable skirmishes took place afterwards between the Refugees and the Americans; but were not of that importance as to merit a place in history.

495. On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New-York, being appointed to the command of the British troops in North America. Soon after his arrival he wrote a letter to general Washington, informing him that admiral Digby, with himself, were appointed commissioners to treat for peace with the people of America. Another letter was sent, dated 2d of August, signed by Sir Guy Carleton and admiral Digby, in which they informed general Washington, that negotiations for a general peace had commenced at Paris. Notwithstanding these favorable appearances, the Americans were jealous it was the design of the British court to disunite them, or induce them to treat of a peace separately from their ally, the king of France.

496. Congress, therefore, passed a resolution, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate

treaty, partial convention, or agreement, with the king of Great Britain, or with any commissioner or commissioners, under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America, and that those states could not, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in express terms acknowledge the Independence of the said States.

497. On the 30th of November, 1782, the provisional articles of peace and reconciliation between Great Britain and the American States were signed at Paris; by which Great Britain acknowledged the Independence and sovereignty of the United States of America. These articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September 3d, 1783. John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin, were the gentlemen appointed by Congress to negotiate this peace on the part of America; and two gentlemen, Oswald and Hartly, on the part of the British.

498. Thus ended a long and unnatural contest, in which Great Britain expended many millions of pounds sterling, lost thousands of her bravest subjects, and won nothing. America obtained her Independence, at the expense of many thousands of lives, and much treasure; but has established an asylum for the persecuted friends of Liberty and the Rights of Man; and has become the admiration of all succeeding ages of men! How cheap the purchase! how rich the blessing!

499. The 18th of October, 1783, Congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded "for having displayed, through the progress of an arduous and difficult war, every military and patriotic virtue, and for which the thanks of their country were given them." They also declared that such part of their armies as stood engaged to serve during the war, should, from and after the 3d day of November, be discharged from the said service. The day preceding their dismissal, general Washington issued his farewell orders. The evacuation of New-York took place about three weeks after the American army was discharged. For a twelvemonth before, there had been an unrestrained communication between that city, though a British garrison, and the adjacent country; the bitterness of war had passed away, and civilities were freely exchanged between those who but lately were engaged in deadly contests, and sought for all opportunities to destroy each other.

500. As soon as the royal army was withdrawn, general

Washington and governor Clinton, with their suites, made a public entry into New-York : a general joy was manifested by the citizens on their return to their habitations, and in the evening there was a display of fire-works ; which exceeded every thing of the kind that had been seen in America. General Washington soon after took leave of his officers, they having been previously assembled for that purpose. Calling for a glass of wine, he thus addressed them, " With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you ; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."

501. He afterwards took an affectionate leave of each of them ; when this affecting scene was over, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light-infantry, to the place of embarkation ; as he entered the barge, to cross the North River, he turned to his companions in glory, waved his hat, and took a silent adieu. The officers who had followed him in mute procession, answered his last signal with tears, and hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish their beloved commander-in-chief.

502. The general proceeded to Annapolis, the seat of Congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia, an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand-writing, and every entry made in a very exact manner. The whole sum which passed through his hands during the war, amounted only to \$64,355 26 7 mills ; no sum charged or retained for personal services.

503. The day on which he resigned his commission, a great number of distinguished personages attended the interesting scene, on the 23d of December, 1783 : rising with great dignity, he addressed the president, Thomas Mifflin, as follows :

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" The great events on which my resignation depended, having, at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

" Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action: and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

504. The president made a suitable reply. The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the spectators during this interesting and solemn scene, were beyond description. Immediately on resigning his commission, general Washington "hastened with ineffable delight," to use his own words, to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, in Virginia.

505. The country, now free from foreign force and domestic violence, and in the enjoyment of general tranquillity, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other states, to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government; which finally issued in the establishment of a new constitution. Congress, which formerly consisted of one body, was made to consist of two: one of which was to be chosen by the people, in proportion to their numbers, the other by the state legislatures. Warm and animating debates took place on the propriety of establishing or rejecting it. The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the states with suitable processions.

CHAPTER VII.

MEETING OF CONGRESS.—ELECTION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENCY.—HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS.—HIS DEATH.

506. The first Congress under the new constitution met at New-York, in April, 1789. Though there were a great diversity of opinions about the new constitution, all were of one

mind who should be their chief executive officer. The people unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander-in-chief, as the most proper person to be their first president. Unambitious of any increase of honors, he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all further public service. But his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the highest station in its gift.

507. That pure and upright zeal for his country's welfare, which had uniformly influenced him to devote his time and talents to its service, again impelled him to relinquish the more pleasing scenes of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the important concerns of public life. The intelligence of his election was communicated to him while he was on his farm in Virginia: he soon after set out for New-York: on his way thither, every expression of respect, that a grateful people could bestow, was shown him. Gentlemen of the first character and station, attended him from state to state. A day was fixed, soon after his arrival at New-York, for his taking the oath of office.

508. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy, of different denominations, assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up prayers for the president and people of the United States. About noon, a procession, followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the president's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance of the hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which the president and vice-president, John Adams, passed into the senate chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by the members of both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-street, and before them and an immense crowd of spectators, took the oath prescribed by the constitution; which was administered by R. R. Livingston, chancellor of the state of New-York.

509. During the performance of this ceremony, a profound silence prevailed. The chancellor then proclaimed him, *President of the United States of America*. This was announced by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the joyful acclamations of near 10,000 citizens. Washington then retired to the senate chamber, where he delivered a speech to both houses; near the conclusion of which he signified his intention of declining all pecuniary compensation.

510. This memorable day completed the organization of the constitution. The experience of former ages, as well as of later times, has given many melancholy and fatal proofs, that

popular governments have seldom answered in practice. But the inhabitants of the United States have made the experiment: that they may succeed to the end of time, in asserting the dignity of human nature, and a capacity of self-government, is 'devoutly to be wished.'

511. The appointment of general Washington to the presidency of the United States, was peculiarly fortunate; he possessed such a commanding influence in the minds of the great bulk of the people, arising from a sure and well-placed confidence in his patriotism and integrity; that they with cheerfulness acquiesced in all his measures for the public welfare; notwithstanding, that during his administration, Great Britain and France were involved in a ruinous war, and there were many politicians in America, in favor of the latter, who would gladly have made a common cause with her against Great Britain; yet the firmness and sagacity of Washington prevented the threatened evil.

512. Genet, the ambassador from France, openly, and in defiance of the government of the United States, attempted to commission American citizens to arm and fit out vessels, to cruise against British subjects: but the president's proclamation, enjoining a strict neutrality, was sanctioned by the great body of the people; and the insolent ravings of Genet were taken no further notice of, than to furnish the different states with a fresh opportunity of expressing their continued approbation and confidence in the measures of Washington's administration.

513. When the term of his appointment as president had expired, he intimated to his friends his intention to return once more to his loved seclusion: he had even contemplated his farewell address, and was preparing to retire from the weight of public cares, when his countrymen, apprehensive for the public safety, in so critical a moment, united to implore him to desist from a resolution so alarming to their fears. Their interposition prevailed, and he again entered upon the arduous task, to the manifest satisfaction of every honest American; but what made the task sit more easy upon him, was the assistance of eminent men in the executive department.

514. The names of Adams, Hamilton, Pickering, Wollcott, and others, are names, which will long be remembered with gratitude by posterity, when the envenomed tongue of detraction will be no more. In 1796, in the month of September, a new election was to take place, when the public was anxiously desirous, that general Washington would again accept the first office in their gift; but his unalterable resolution was taken, to

recede from the toils of state. His FAREWELL ADDRESS contains such prudent and sound advice to his fellow-citizens, as shows that his country's welfare was still dear to his heart.

“FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

“The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with the important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

“I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interests; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

“The acceptance of and continuance hitherto, in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

“I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

“The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, with the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives of diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

“In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgement of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved

country for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.

"Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence ; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual ; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained : that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue ; that in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop ; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

"Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment. The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, though often covertly and insidiously directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness ; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the *palladium* of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every

attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

“For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

“But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

“The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will find more and more, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one *nation*.—Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

“While then every part of our country thus feels immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resources, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive, from Union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in this sense it is that your Union ought to be considered as a

main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs, as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations, "*Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western;*" whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of the policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests, in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *Union*, by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there be, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

"To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true *Liberty*. The basis of our political system is the right

of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government: but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is a sacred obligation upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising, minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations, or associations of the above description, may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist, with care, the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretends. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

"I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with a particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party in general.

"This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under differ-

ent shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which generally result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight, the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

"It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one party against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose: and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of their powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them, must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change

by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us, with caution, indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

"It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding the occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to our representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.

"To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised that are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, which is always a choice of difficulties, ought to be a decisive motive, for candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for the spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations: cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of

time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?—Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtues? the experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

“In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

“Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests.—The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels the government to war, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

“So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

“As avenues to foreign influence, in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the other.

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument

of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see the danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have, with them, as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns: therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury, from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected: when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice.

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition

of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: but, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that you may now and then recur to them, to moderate the fury of party-spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

"How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 23d of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

"After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

"The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary, on this occasion, to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations. The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country, to settle and mature its yet recent institutions; and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

"Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an

upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the natural soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers."

515. He resigned with pleasure the seat he had filled with so much honor and applause to his successor, and retired to his farm at Mount Vernon, where he remained tranquilly in possession of those rural delights which were most congenial to his natural inclination.

516. The immortal Washington was succeeded in the presidential chair by John Adams, a distinguished patriot of the revolution. During his presidency, from 1797 to 1801, the French revolutionary government, disappointed in their object of engaging the United States in a war with England, pursued a course of insult and aggression towards them, which ended in hostilities. The American administration had forborne for a long time, but at length adopted measures of retaliation and defence. A provisional army of regular troops was established, and the navy was increased by the addition of several frigates. Washington was appointed, by the unanimous consent of the senate, lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. This truly illustrious citizen died shortly afterwards, at his seat of Mount Vernon, on the 14th of December, 1799, in the 68th year of his age, leaving the character of the most pure and exalted of patriots, after having reaped a full harvest of glory.

517. General Washington was about six feet in height; his eyes were gray, but full of animation; his countenance serene and expressive, not disposed to the frequent indulgence of mirth: his limbs muscular and well-proportioned: he was majestic and solemn in his deportment. He generally expressed himself with perspicuity and diffidence, but seldom used more words than were necessary for elucidating his opinion. He had the urbanity of a gentleman, without the pageantry of pride; he qualified denials in so kind a manner, that a disappointment carried no sting with it. Such was the great Washington! Where will America find his equal?

518. The war which commenced in 1799, between the United States and France, continued but a few months; a con-

vention being concluded between them on the 30th of September, 1800. The actual hostilities consisted in two severe and well-fought naval actions:—the first between the frigate *Constellation*, of 38 guns, and the French frigate *l'Insurgente*, of about equal force, in which the latter was captured; the second was between the same American frigate and *La Vengeance*, of superior force, which made her escape in the night, after having struck her colors.

519. In 1801, a change took place in the administration of public affairs. The democratic republican party having become the majority, succeeded in electing Mr. Jefferson to the presidential chair, in opposition to Mr. Adams. During the first term of his official career, the United States enjoyed a singular degree of commercial prosperity, while the free institutions were visible in the elevated character and happy condition of the people.

520. By the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, the Mississippi river was made the western boundary of the United States from its source to the 31st degree of latitude, and following this line to the *Catahouche*: the Floridas being ceded to Spain by a treaty of the same date, but without any *specific boundaries*; this omission led to a controversy between the United States and Spain, which nearly terminated in hostilities. It was finally arranged in 1795, by a treaty, which provided for an amicable settlement of the boundary line, and secured to our republic the right of *deposit* for the productions of its western states at New-Orleans. Spain had vacillated in its conduct for nearly three years, respecting the fulfilment of the conditions of this treaty; but during the administration of President Adams, preparations were made by us for a forcible occupation of the city; the state of parties, at that time, caused an abandonment of this plan; but the objects contended for by the United States, were soon afterwards happily obtained.

521. In October, 1800, a secret treaty was signed at Paris, by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, making a cession of Louisiana to the former power;—this actually took place in March, 1801, but the fact was not promulgated for some time. It seems to have been the intention of the French government to take possession, but the rigorous blockade of their ports by the British fleets prevented the execution of this design. As soon as intelligence of the cession to France reached the American government, negotiations were opened with that power, which terminated by a transfer of the whole country to the United States, for 15,000,000 of dollars.

522. The purchase of Louisiana, though censured at the time by the political opponents of Mr. Jefferson, is now universally admitted to have been an act of great political wisdom, because it closed a source of controversy with foreign powers; added a very extensive tract of fertile country to the Union; and extended the duration of it, by restoring to the western states the natural outlet of their productions. Were there nothing else in the political administration of this great statesman to endear him to his countrymen, the peaceful acquisition of Louisiana would give it a lasting claim to their gratitude. William C. Claiborne was appointed the first governor; and in 1811, this district having acquired a sufficient population, was admitted as a separate state; since which period it has rapidly increased in wealth and population. During the latter part of the last war with England, it became the theatre of hostilities, and the field of glory for American arms.

523. We must not omit mentioning two circumstances connected with the administration of Thomas Jefferson:—the war with Tripoli, which was declared by Congress on the 10th of June, 1801; and the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. The principal details of the Tripolitan war consist in the frigate *Philadelphia* striking on a rock in the harbor of Tripoli, on the 31st of October, 1803, in which situation she was taken possession of by the enemy; but on the 16th of February, in the following year, she was burned in the harbor by a party of volunteers, from the American squadron, headed by the gallant Stephen Decatur. In the ensuing August, Tripoli was bombarded by commodore Preble, and the Bashaw was made to feel the effects of American valor. The war appeared likely to be of long duration, until general Eaton availed himself of the favorable opportunity of uniting his arms with those of the exiled Bashaw, and, with the aid of 70 Americans, and 300 Turks, took the city of Derne, on the 27th of April, 1805: in June, the same year, the humbled Bashaw was happy to conclude a peace with the United States, on more advantageous terms than had ever before been conceded to any Christian power.

524. The public mind was highly excited in the beginning of the year 1807, by the arrest of the well-known Aaron Burr, an opponent of the celebrated Alexander Hamilton. It is supposed his object was the separation of the western states from the Union, and the conquest of Mexico; but on his trial for high treason, in September of the same year, he was acquitted of the charge by the petit-jury assembled at Richmond

for that purpose: since that period he seems to have courted obscurity.

525. The European war was renewed in 1803, the peace having been of short duration. The belligerents, who envied the prosperity of these growing states, during the administration of former presidents, and had committed great depredations on our commerce, began to display a more offensive demeanor about the year 1806. By their neutral position, the United States had gained a great accession of wealth, and excited the jealousy of the English, who saw them becoming the carriers of produce between France and her colonies. To counteract this commerce, the law of nations was disregarded, and neutral rights were violated by the British government.

526. With the intention of destroying all neutral commerce, and particularly that of the United States, the British declared the greater part of the French coast in a state of blockade, in May, 1806, without pursuing the ancient mode of stationing a naval force to put it in execution. The emperor Napoleon retaliated by an edict of a similar nature, dated from Berlin, in November the same year, although he knew the execution of it was impracticable in the state of the French marine. On the 11th of November, the following year, the British issued their memorable orders in council, by which they presumed to forbid any trade whatever with France or her dependencies; and in a subsequent decree of Milan, on December 17th, Napoleon declared all neutral vessels denationalized which should suffer themselves to be visited by an English vessel of war. In these hostile proceedings the English were certainly the aggressors. They had also wounded the national dignity of the United States by an unprovoked attack upon the frigate *Chesapeake*, on the 22d of June, 1807; by the frequent impressment of American seamen; and by the insulting demeanor of their vessels of war, which were stationed at the mouths of the American harbors, to enforce their orders in council.

527. Remonstrances were tried, without effect, and Congress resolved that the nation could not submit without a surrender of independence. The country was not, however, prepared for war; and although the aggressions of the English far surpassed those of France in magnitude and importance, yet the wrongs inflicted by the latter could not be passed over in silence. A system of restrictions upon commerce was therefore attempted, which should operate equally upon both belligerents. In December, 1807, an embargo was laid upon all American vessels; the restrictions of which were enforced by several

subsequent acts. After the experience of a year, Congress yielded to the clamors of the commercial interest, repealed the embargo law, and substituted an act interdicting the commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France, at a time when it was supposed by many persons that the preceding measure was producing the desired effect in Europe; yet they gave to the president authority to remove the restriction in case of an amicable arrangement.

528. In the year 1809, Mr. Jefferson having declined a re-election, James Madison was chosen president, and George Clinton vice-president. An arrangement was made with Mr. Erskine in April of this year, by which he agreed, on the part of his government, to repeal the obnoxious orders, and the president consented to the renewal of the commercial intercourse between the two countries: but the British government refused to ratify the act of their minister, on the ground of its having been concluded without sufficient authority. The non-intercourse with Great Britain was subsequently renewed; and Mr. Erskine was proved not to have exceeded his instructions. This same year Mr. Erskine was recalled by his government, and succeeded in his functions of ambassador by Jackson, remarkable for having been the diplomatist at the time of the attack upon Copenhagen by the British. This person having, soon after the commencement of his correspondence with the secretary of state, offered a gross insult to the government, the president declined any further correspondence with him, and desired his recall:—his government subsequently removed him, but promoted him to another station.

529. In August, 1810, the French government officially announced to the American minister at Paris, that the Berlin and Milan decrees would cease to operate on the first of November ensuing. The president accordingly issued a proclamation on the second of November, declaring that the intercourse between the United States and France might be renewed. In May, 1811, the British sloop of war *Little Belt*, one of the many armed vessels which that government had stationed on the coast to harass the American commerce, had the audacity to fire upon the United States frigate *President*; but a few broadsides from the latter were sufficient to cripple her. Towards the close of the same year, an action was fought at Tippecanoe, between the American infantry, commanded by general Harrison, and a large body of Indians, in which the latter were defeated.

530. The system of restrictions upon commerce was con-

tinued until 1812, when the increasing outrages of Great Britain called for more decided and effective measures. With a view to hostilities, the president was authorized to augment the number of the regular army. Volunteers were accepted, and the few frigates belonging to the navy were ordered to be fitted out. War was declared on the 18th of June, 1812, having been recommended by the president in a message to both houses of congress. Notwithstanding the length of time in which hostilities had been meditated, they were commenced with a very imperfect state of preparation on the part of America. An addition to the regular army of 25,000 men had been authorized; but few of them had been enlisted; and few individuals were found sufficiently acquainted with military science to act as officers. The volunteers and militia were undisciplined, yet zealous and patriotic. In consequence of these inadequate preparations, and the want of sufficient foresight, in other respects, on the part of the government, the first operations of the war were marked with ill success.

531. On the 12th of July, 1812, general Hull invaded Canada, and after a short possession of a portion of the enemy's territory, fell back to Detroit. The British having command of the lake, immediately cut off his communication with the state of Ohio, from which he had derived his supplies. Two attempts, which were made to open the route, failed of success. In this situation, a British force, under general Brock, advanced against the American troops; and, without waiting an attack, general Hull surrendered his army prisoners of war on the 16th of August. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot. The president approved the sentence, but remitted the punishment, in consequence of the age and revolutionary services of the general. On the Niagara frontier, the operations of the Americans were almost equally unfortunate. About 1000 troops, commanded by general Van Rensselaer, crossed the river, and attacked the British at Queenstown, on the 13th of October:—they were at first successful, having beaten the enemy at the point of the bayonet; but not receiving the expected reinforcements, they were compelled to surrender, after a long and obstinate engagement.

532. The disappointment arising from the failure of these military enterprises, was fully counterbalanced by the glorious success of the American flag on the ocean;—this had formerly been the peculiar theatre of British triumphs. On the 20th of August, 1812, the American frigate *Constitution* fell in with the British frigate *Guerriere*, of about equal force:—the latter ad-

vanced to the contest, confident in the reputation of the British arms, and anticipating an easy triumph over her opponent ; but in the space of about 30 minutes, the well-directed fire of the Constitution placed her in a sinking condition, and she was forced to surrender, with the loss of 100 men in killed and wounded. On board the Constitution only 14 were killed and wounded. This brilliant exploit was followed by others of a similar nature. On the 25th of October, the frigate United States, commanded by Decatur, engaged the British frigate Macedonian, and compelled her to surrender, with the loss of nearly 100 killed and wounded. The Macedonian was afterwards sent to the United States, and added to our navy.

533. In November, the British sloop of war Frolic was captured, after a severe engagement with the American sloop of war Wasp, of inferior force :—and before the close of this year another brilliant victory added lustre to the American arms. The frigate Constitution, under command of Bainbridge, encountered the British frigate Java, carrying an equal number of guns, but having more than her usual complement of men, and several military passengers. A warm action ensued for about an hour, when the fire of the Constitution reduced her opponent to an unmanageable wreck, and she struck her colors. Her loss was very great, having 60 killed, and 120 wounded ; but of the Constitution only 9 were killed, and 25 wounded. The prize was so shattered, it was found impossible to bring her into port : she was therefore destroyed by the captors. In February, 1813, captain Lawrence, of the Hornet, captured the British sloop of war Peacock, of superior force, after an action of 15 minutes. Besides these triumphs of the public vessels of the United States, many gallant exploits were performed by the privateers, which distressed the British commerce in an unprecedented manner.

534. The military operations of the year 1813 were productive of alternate success and reverses. The north-western frontier was again the theatre of misfortune and bloodshed. After the capture of Hull's army, the government immediately called out detachments of troops from Kentucky, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and placed the whole under command of general Harrison. The arrangements of this officer were well concerted to obtain the recovery of Detroit. In pursuance of this plan, general Winchester moved forward to the rapids of Miami, with about 800 men, and was directed to commence the building of huts. He arrived at this post early in January, and formed a fortified camp ; but hearing of an intended assault upon French-

town, at the river Raisin, he moved forward to that place. On the morning of the 22d of January, he was suddenly attacked by a large force of British and Indians, commanded by colonel Proctor :—though surprised and surrounded, the troops fought with coolness and bravery, but were finally obliged to yield to superior numbers; and the general surrendered about 500 of them as prisoners of war.

535. On the frontier of lake Ontario, the American arms enjoyed a short advantage. York, the seat of government in Upper Canada, being abandoned by the enemy, was taken possession of by troops under the command of general Dearborn, on the 27th of April. When the Americans had driven before them the best of the enemy's infantry at the point of the bayonet, and were within a short distance of the British outworks, a match was intentionally placed to the magazine, by the explosion of which about 100 of our men were killed; among whom was the brave general Pike, commander of the detachment. He was an officer of distinguished bravery and military talents, and his loss was deeply lamented: but the troops, undismayed by his fall, gave loud cheers, and pushed forward to avenge his death. Having destroyed most of the public stores, the army evacuated York.

536. On the 27th of May, a detachment of our troops attacked fort George, which surrendered after a sharp contest. In retaliation for which, Sir George Prevost made an attempt to surprise Sacket's Harbor; but they were received with so much coolness and bravery by the forces under general Brown, that they betook themselves to flight, leaving their wounded and prisoners in the care of the American general. To compensate for this inglorious defeat, the British surprised the forces under generals Winder and Chandler, during the night, and made them all prisoners of war. Thus was the war pursued with alternate success and defeat, until the 10th of September. On the morning of that memorable day, commodore Perry, with an inferior force, engaged the enemy on lake Erie; and, after a long and well-contested action, the principal American vessel struck her colors;—but the fortunes of the day were retrieved by a bold and unprecedented manœuvre, and by the consummate presence of mind of the youthful Perry, who, after an action of three hours, captured the whole of the British squadron. This glorious victory relieved the whole of the north-western frontier from the presence of the enemy.

537. During the early part of the war, the Atlantic frontier enjoyed comparative peace. In the spring of 1814, a series

of devastating hostility began on the shores of the Chesapeake, which reflected disgrace on the British arms. This predatory warfare was principally carried on by direction of admiral Cockburn, who, being so successful in plundering farm-houses, and rifling churches, began to employ his troops on a bolder scale. With the hope of obtaining possession of Norfolk, an attack was made on Craney Island, but which terminated in the defeat of the invaders. The small town of Hampton was taken by the British, and given up to violation and plunder; and during the remainder of the year, the British in the Chesapeake were chiefly employed in threatening Washington and Baltimore.

538. In the warfare on the ocean, the American frigate *Chesapeake* was captured by the British frigate *Shannon*, in consequence of the unfortunate death of her commander, and the disabled state of most of the officers; and posterity will not fail to impute rashness to Lawrence, for hastily throwing away those laurels which more coolness and his bravery might have won. In the latter part of this year, a formidable expedition was fitted out for the capture of Montreal: the object was to have been effected by the union of two divisions of infantry, one under the command of general Hampton, and the other under general Wilkinson: but in consequence of a division between the two generals, the enterprise failed; Wilkinson was recalled, and superseded in the command by general Izard. On the Niagara frontier, events occurred which retrieved the character of the American arms;—stricter discipline was introduced among our troops, and thus they were prepared to encounter the veteran soldiers of the enemy. The command was given to general Brown, who had distinguished himself at Sacket's Harbor.

539. On the 2d of July, 1813, the troops crossed, and having captured fort Erie, with its garrison, they proceeded to attack the British position at Chippewa; the respective forces being about equal in numbers. On the 5th, an obstinate and well-fought battle took place, which terminated in favor of the Americans, who carried all the British positions at the point of the bayonet, and finally converted their retreat into a disorderly flight. Another still more warmly-contested battle occurred on the 25th of the same month: the enemy, being reinforced, advanced towards the American position, and was attacked by general Scott, near the falls of Niagara: but after a considerable display of valor, the enemy was forced to retreat with great loss. The American force, however, was so much weakened,

that it fell back to fort Erie. The British advanced to lay siege to the fort, but their operations proved unsuccessful; and attempting to carry it by assault, were defeated with great loss; the Americans gaining great advantages, by making a sally on the besiegers' lines. The operations on this frontier, during the remainder of the war, were of no consequence.

540. On the northern frontier, the arms of the republic obtained a glorious triumph, in the capture of the whole British squadron, on lake Champlain;—and a powerful military expedition, commanded by general Prevost, was repulsed in an attack on Plattsburg, and compelled to abandon its views. During this year, the British government availed itself of its powerful force to pillage and lay waste the Atlantic coast. In the month of August, a body of 4500 men landed near Washington, and took that place; but after destroying most of the public buildings, they retired without molestation. The disgrace arising from this event, was in some measure retrieved, by the defeat of the enemy in a similar attempt upon Baltimore: before which place the British general Ross was killed, while he was reconnoitring the American lines. On the ocean, the frigate *President* was captured by a squadron of the enemy, and the *Essex* by two vessels of superior force, after a most desperate engagement, and great slaughter: but the capture of the *Epervier*, the *Avon*, the *Reindeer*, the *Cyane*, the *Levant*, and the *Penguin*, proved, that in actions between vessels of equal force, the Americans were uniformly successful.

541. The military operations of the war were closed by an attack upon New-Orleans, by a well-appointed and formidable British army under general Packenham. On the 23d of December, 1814, general Jackson made an attack upon the enemy in the night, and inflicted upon them a severe loss. Being strongly reinforced, however, the invaders attacked the American intrenchments on the 28th, but met with so gallant a resistance that they were compelled to retire. On the 1st of January, the British opened a tremendous fire from their batteries upon the American intrenchments; but these were so well defended, and their artillery so admirably served, that the British guns were nearly all dismounted, and the attack decisively defeated. Again, on the 8th, the enemy made his last and most formidable assault upon the American lines, intending to carry them by escalade: in this attempt, he was utterly and irretrievably defeated, with the loss of 2600 men, and several distinguished officers, including the commander-in-chief. Extraordinary as the fact may appear, only thirteen Americans

fell in this sanguinary battle. The British now abandoned all hope of success in the object of the expedition: they embarked their shattered forces on board the fleet, and sailed from the fatal coast. Peace, which had been for some time in negotiation, was concluded between the ambassadors of the United States and Great Britain at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814; the news of which was received in the United States on the 14th of February, 1815.

542. When Louisiana was ceded to the United States by France, in 1803, it was declared by the treaty to be conveyed with the same boundaries as had pertained to it when held by Spain, and as it had when ceded by Spain to France. The terms of this cession gave rise to a claim on the part of the United States to the country west of Perdido river; and, to prevent the occupation of this territory by any other power, the government took possession of the principal places in 1811, except the town and fort of Mobile, which were surrendered the following year. EAST FLORIDA remained in possession of the Spanish authorities, until the second war between the United States and Great Britain. A British expedition having been fitted out from Pensacola, in 1814, against our southern border, general Jackson resolved to take possession of the place. Marching from Mobile, he attacked, destroyed fort Barrancas, and returned to Mobile. A similar disregard of the duties of neutrality on the part of the Spanish government, drew upon this province another invasion in 1818.

543. The SEMINOLE INDIANS, with whom the United States were at war, residing within the limits of Florida, and making incursions thence without opposition from the Spaniards, it became necessary, for the purpose of chastising them, to cross the territorial line, and subsequently possession was taken by general Jackson of fort St. Marks and Pensacola. The American troops remained at these military posts until November, 1818, when these places were restored by the government of the United States to Spain. A transfer of the whole province to the United States was afterwards agreed upon in 1819;—after some unnecessary delay on the part of Spain, a treaty, to that effect, was ratified by her in October, 1820, and by the United States in February, 1821;—accordingly, possession was given in July, the same year, upon condition of the United States paying 5,000,000 dollars to her own citizens as an indemnity for spoliations made upon her commerce by Spain, during the predominance of France in the government of that country.

544. Thus have we conducted the youthful student of American History through a succession of events the most interesting to mankind that have ever taken place on the theatre of the globe; they are interesting to us, because we enjoy the most beneficial effects from apparently insignificant causes; they are interesting to the members of the European world, inasmuch as they solve a problem, which was frequently urged by the advocates of despotism, that man, when left to his own guidance, was incapable of self-government. We see how the descendants of Japheth, migrating from their original seat, "shall rule over their brethren," not by the force of arms; not by brutal violence; but by the lights of science, and the influence of a legislation, that seems to have caught a ray from Divinity, having humanity for its basis, and benevolence for its superstructure.

545. The government of the United States is a Federal Republic; formed by the union of the several states for the purpose of mutual safety and defence, under the general power of a Congress. Each state is independent, with distinct laws for itself, and has the exclusive control of all local concerns; but the defence of the country, the regulation of commerce, and all the general interests of the confederacy, are committed, by the constitution of the United States, to a general government.

546. The *laws* of the Union are made by a Congress, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives, and is termed the legislative power. The laws are executed by the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury; and this is called the executive power. The President is chosen for four years, by delegates, elected for this purpose by the people; and equal in number for each state to the members it sends to Congress—

1. George Washington, from 1789 to 1797, eight years.
2. John Adams, . . . 1797 . 1801, four . .
3. Thomas Jefferson, . . 1801 . 1809, eight . .
4. James Madison, . . 1809 . 1817, eight . .
5. James Monroe, . . 1817 . 1825, eight . .
6. John Q. Adams, . . 1825 . 1829, four . .
7. Andrew Jackson, . . 1829

547. The Vice-President is chosen in the same manner, and for the same length of time: 1. John Adams. 2. Thomas Jefferson. 3. Aaron Burr. 4. George Clinton. 5. George Clinton. 6. Elbridge Gerry. 7. D. D. Tompkins. 8. D. D. Tompkins. 9. John C. Calhoun. 10. John C. Calhoun.

548. The *Senate* consists of two members from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; consequently the 24 states ought to send 48 senators. The Representatives are chosen by the people of each state, according to their population; in 1830, 40,000 inhabitants being entitled to one representative; consequently they were 208 in number.

549. The *Federal Judiciary* is the power which explains and applies the laws, and is independent of the legislature. It consists of a supreme court, held annually at Washington, and a district court in each state: the judges of the supreme court of the United States, and the inferior officers of government, are appointed by the President, with the approbation of the Senate. There have been five chief-justices since the organization of the government: 1. John Jay. 2. William Cushing. 3. Oliver Ellsworth. 4. John Jay. 5. John Marshall.

550. Such is the brief outline of a government which has become the admiration of civilized man.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.

ESTO PERPETUA!

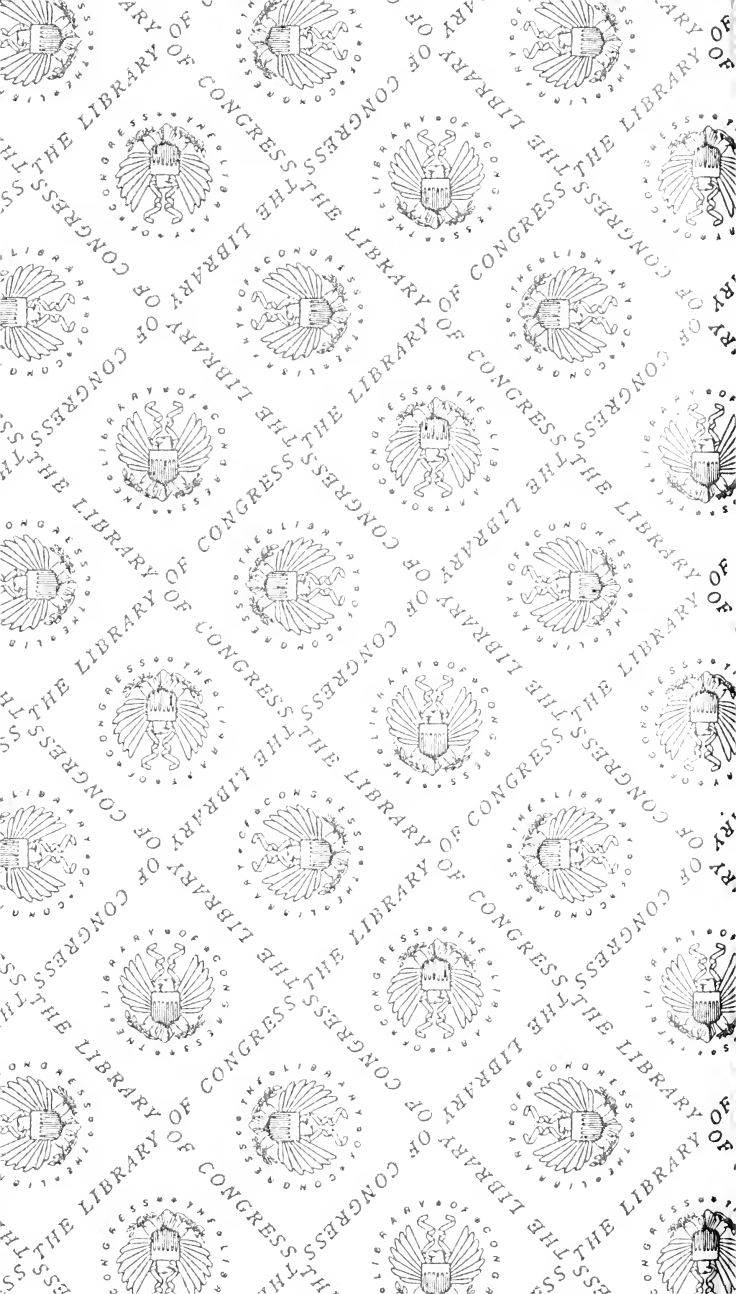
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